

Contemporary Squares of China--Nanjing Case Study

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The background of the entire page is a high-contrast, black and white aerial photograph of a city, likely Nanjing, China. The image shows a dense urban layout with a grid-like street pattern, numerous rectangular building footprints, and some larger, irregularly shaped structures. A semi-transparent rectangular box is overlaid on the upper half of the image, containing the title and author information. The title is in a large, white, sans-serif font, and the author's name and supervisor's name are in a smaller, white, sans-serif font below it. The overall aesthetic is modern and academic.

Contemporary Squares of China--Nanjing Case Study

Han Xiaofei
Supervised by Professor Gustavo Ambrosini

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Ciclo XVII

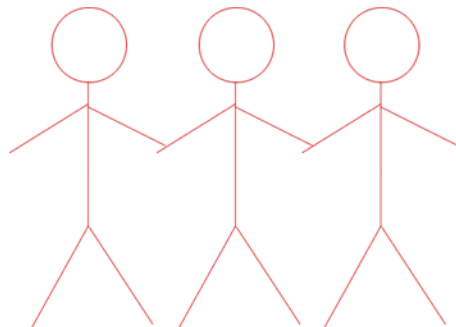
**Ricerca in Architettura e progettazione edilizia
Politecnico di Torino**



**POLITECNICO
DI TORINO**

Dipartimento
di Architettura e Design

To my beloved mother and brother



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1 Introduction

1.1 The absence square in Chinese history

Urban life of Chinese cities in the imperial era is recorded in many books and articles. In his ‘La Vie quotidienne en Chine à la veille de l’invasion mongole’, Jacques Gernet described the dramatic urban life in Hangzhou (杭州)—the capital of China between 1127-1279 AD: there are many parks and gardens along the lake, citizens flock to these places at festivals and holidays; the most lively occasion of the city is festivals, citizens enjoy various of entertainment on streets the whole night until dawn. (1959/2008) Paolo Santangelo narrated in ‘Urban Society of Late Imperial Suzhou (苏州)’: fancy mansions and gardens are places for symposiums of scholars and bureaucratic; official or religious rituals are held in Confucian temple south of the city. Another famous city was recorded is Bianliang (汴梁) (Fig1-1), the capital of China during 960-1127AD. (1993/2005, P.103 P.105) In memoir ‘The Eastern Capital—a Dream of Splendor’, Meng Yuanlao recalled: during the Spring Festival, there are 3 days of wrestling competition, the site for those competitions is streets and city gates; in the day of Latent Festival, citizens gather along the main urban street for celebration. (东京梦华录)

All these vivid descriptions of traditional urban life convey one message--as an important part of the city today, square seems to be absence in China’s past.



Fig1-1 Image of Bianliang, part of roll painting ‘along the river during the Qingming festival’ Source: Palace Museum, Beijing

1.2 Squares in reform, revolution and movement



Fig 1-2 Squares of 100 years ago and nowadays Source: Top, postcard of 1935, issued by Postal office of Republic China Bottom, model of Quancheng Square, retrieved from Wikipedia

When foreigners (Russian/German/Italian/, etc.) introduce square to China along with constructing their concessions, they would never imagine that Chinese square will become something highly peculiar and unusual in many ways after 100 years. The form and function of Chinese square appear quite similar with European square in the very beginning of its short history, so what happened to Chinese squares in the past 100 years and made squares ‘Chinese square’? (Fig 1-2)

The time frame of this study is 1895-now, that means the starting point of this research is China’s failure of the first Sino-Japanese war—as Jin Guantao and Liu Qingfeng pointed out (1993, p.93), this is the beginning of China’s ideological transformation and national modernization. The foundation of Chinese ideology and philosophy--Confucianism was doubted and questioned after the warfare. Meanwhile, Darwin’s Theory of Evolution was introduced to China and appreciated by elites and social reformers, especially Social Darwinism was influential and prevailed nationwide. These 2 drastic ideological transformations became the stimulus of radical reform and revolution in the coming hundreds of years. One of the reformers, Prime Minister Li Hongzhang of Qing Dynasty considered it as ‘the most drastic transformation in China’s 3000 years history’.

Since the failure of the 1st Sino-Japanese war, the lack of confidence in native culture and prevailing of social Darwinism makes Chinese universally believe western culture is ‘higher potential culture’. This idea leading to the disappearance of traditional public spaces like streets and appearance of western public spaces like squares or parks. There are four stages in Square’s development from its emergence to nowadays:

The 1st stage is the period before Nanjing was settled as Republic of China’s capital (1895-1927). In this period, squares are mostly seen in concessions, by elites and social reformers, squares along with the plan of concessions were considered as more ‘scientific’ way to organize cities.

The 2nd stage is before the 2nd Sino-Japanese War (1927-1937), this was a period of relatively stable than Warlord Era, also known as Nanjing Decade. Finally, the government of Republic China could devote to urban plan and construction. To design a grand capital, social reformers and urban planners made a Capital Plan with French boulevard, Washington's urban structure and numbers of square. Meanwhile, to preserve and promote Chinese culture was also highlighted in this plan. This is the beginning of square's practice by Chinese, an experiment to combine Western and Chinese aesthetic. However, because of the everlasting war, the capital plan was suspended 10 years later because of Japanese invasion and the following civil war.

The 3rd stage is Mao's Era, this is a period of radical movements, and 'Political Correctness' became guidelines in every aspect of society. There was not too much square construction in this period because of the humble economic condition. The 'Political Correctness' reflected in square design was 'socialist square' and Soviet style. Squares in this period were used mainly for political purpose.

The 4th stage is after the Chinese Economic Reform, especially in 90s-- it was defined as 'golden age' of square development (Cao, 2005). The burst of square construction was similar to a social movement—it was promoted by 'China's Daily' and sooner prevailed the whole country.

Yet the purpose and incentive to built square in every stage are quite similar—remake public space, rebuilt city image, reform public life.(Wang, 2003/2006) Ideology is the significant factor influences square's emergence and development, design and use; once there is ideological transformation nationwide, square reform will happen. Public power plays the role of the executive, interferes and frames square's form and function. Ideology and public power together are the reason of Chinese square's particularity.

There will be 3 parts to prove this argument:

Firstly, the square was a kind of Mediterranean culture and imported to China along with the establishment of concessions. The philosophy of

square design was changing frequently alone with social reform. Secondly, the particular spatial character of Chinese square is shaped and formed in a peculiar background, for example, land allocation, education system, codes of urban and architecture design, climate, urban structure, etc.

Thirdly, the using condition of square and daily activities are not generated from nowhere, it is invented from the interference of public power, remaining influence of collectivism and reinterpretation of street culture—the traditional Chinese public life. The daily routine of Chinese square reflects how social reformer and public power interfere popular culture in public space and how the common people response to them.

1.3 Nanjing—capital in the past

By archeological discovery, small towns have been built in Nanjing area since about 722BC. But Nanjing was settle as a city officially in 571B.C., it was called Tangyi(棠邑) at that time. From then on, varies of cities was built and ruined alternately, some of them were capitals and have different names, such as Jianye (建业) of Dongwu (东吴), also known as Jiankang(建康) in Xijin(东晋) and 6 Dynasty (六朝), which established in 229A.D.and razed in 589A.D. by the fierce army of Sui(隋). The rise and fall of Nanjing in history was a best case to prove Zhao Gang's words: the original motivation to built ancient Chinese cities is a politic and military affair, but these kinds of cities will not be stable, there is high possibility that they may be razed in a day. (2006, p.6)

Therefore, despite Nanjing has more than 2500 years' history, only until 1368A.D. when Zhu Yuanzhang settled here as the capital of Great Ming Empire, its design and construction have influenced on Nanjing's urban structure today. The name Nanjing was given in this dynasty, literally means 'the southern capital' since this dynasty is bi-capital. Relatively, its counterpart is Beijing—means 'the northern capital'. Italian priest Matteo Ricci used to make this comment: 'Nanjing is

a city more grandeur than Beijing in every aspect in its peak time'. (1639/1983) By Xue Fengxuan's word, Nanjing was the biggest city among its contemporaries by area of 43km². (2009, p.218) But before the first emperor Zhu Yuanzhang settled here, Nanjing was just a prosperous commercial town with a population of around 100,000, far from enough to fulfill the emperor's aspiration to establish a grand capital of a great empire.

Empire Zhu Yuanzhang and one of his most trusted ministers Liu Ji started to plan and remake a great capital from 1366, this huge project was finished in 1386. They chose the east side to build the palace while commoners inhabited in the south side. (Fig 1-3) The grand city wall they designed and built are 35.267km in girth, but there was not enough population to fill this huge city. Although the empire commanded 45000 rich families of other cities immigrated to Nanjing, a large part of the city is still empty and used for agriculture(Fei Siyen, 2010).

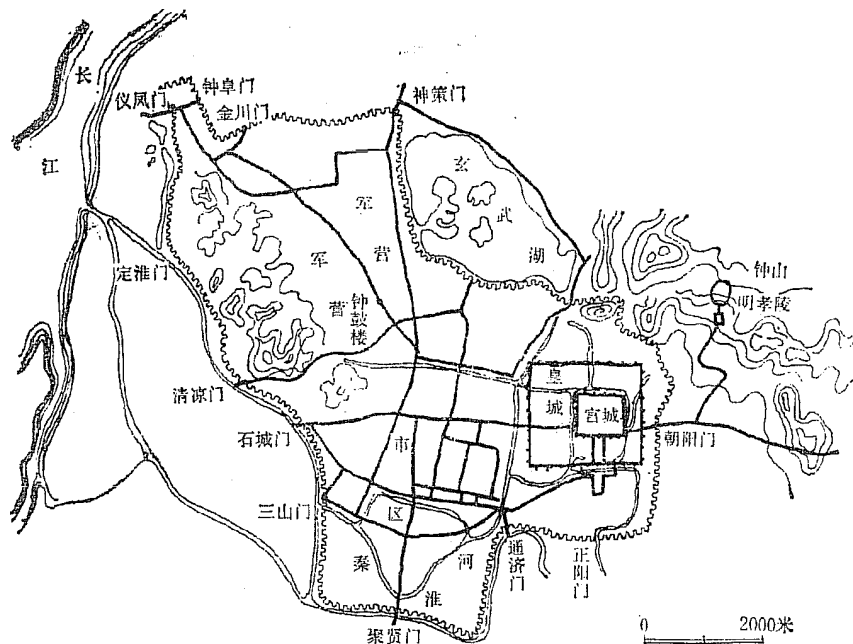


Fig 1-3 Nanjing of Ming dynasty Source: 董鉴泓, 2004, 中国城市建设史, 北京: 中国建筑工业出版社, p131

Even until 1945, after 33 years of persistence endeavor to build the capital by the RP¹ government, more than half of the city is empty. (Fig1-4) Those empty lands offer opportunities to build modern city while keep the old part untouched in RP period. From 1927 to 1937, this city was built gradually according to ‘capital plan’. Squares were planned and built in this city for the first time in its long history. But 10 years is not enough to build a grand capital, only very small part of the ‘Capital Plan’ was realized because of warfare.

Lynch used to classify cities into 3 ‘normative models’ in his ‘Good City Form’: the cosmic model or holy city, the practical model and organic model. All these three models could be traced in Nanjing--the Royal City in western part fulfill the cosmic model; the vernacular residences in south part is the organic model; the industrial area in the north is the practical model. (As cited in Kostof, 1991,p.15) Except Lynch’s 3 modes, Socialist city and Post-Socialist city could also be found.

Traces of different period collaged in Nanjing, made it a complex and attractive city. Among them, the urban structures of Ming Dynasty and Republic of China have great impacts for today. (Fig1-5) They formed the main structure of Nanjing, constructions after 1949 were carried gradually on this foundation. In this research, 5 cases are selected to be study subjects, the shape and design of them are enormously influenced by those historical traces.

¹ Acronym of Republic of China.

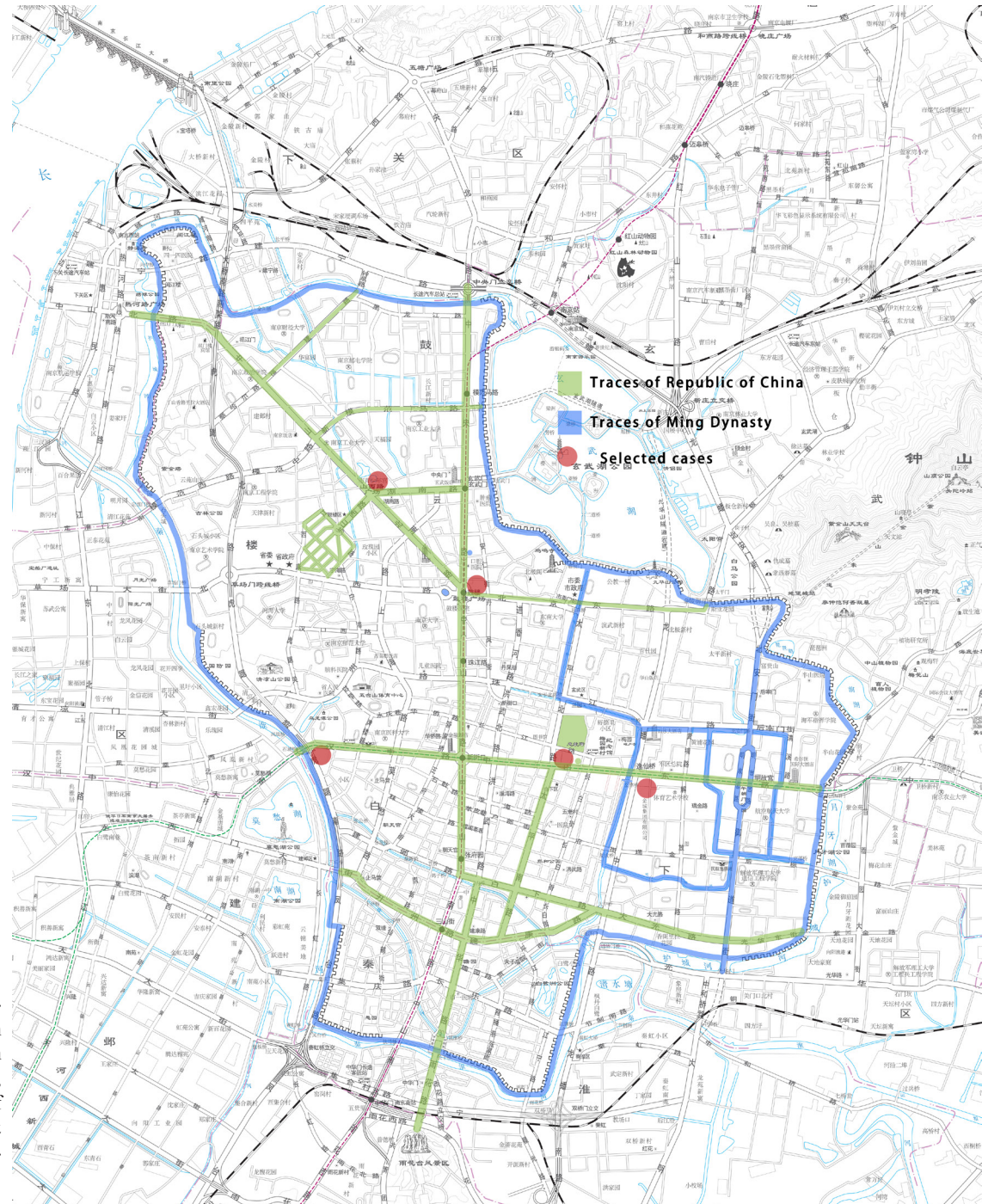


Fig 1-5 main historical traces and research subjects, adapted from Map of Nanjing, 2002, Nanjing Institutes of Surveying, Mapping & Geographical Investigation

1.4 Data collection and material selection

Data collection

Field study is extra important to study public life in a square since activities of a square could be quite different from people's imagination to the reality. I start my work with the selection of study objects. Based on the primary study of Nanjing, I find squares of Nanjing could be classified into 4 categories by design intention:

A Commercial square

B Civic Square

C Squares for tourism purpose

D Square for transportation

Since research objectives are related to ordinary people's life and activity, obviously the ideal study fields should be selected from type B. Those civic squares I selected are located inside the city wall. Since the municipal government began to consider real estate market as a better way to great GDP and increase government's income through land trading, the larger area of new Nanjing which outside the city wall has quite a few civic square. Meanwhile, large numbers of gated communities were built in this area. By 'Code of Urban Residence Area Planning & Design', in a gated residential community, a central green land no less than 30% of the total area and spaces for residents' activities should be designed. Therefore, residents of this part prefer to stay at the public space inside their community than civic squares.

After cautious consideration of squares type and location, I choose 5 cases: Gulou Square, Shanxilu Square, Daxinggong Square, Hanzhongmen Square, and Xi'anmen Square. (Fig1-5) The sites of them are deliberately planned: Gulou Square and Shanxilu Square are spatial knots of Zhongshan Road—the most important road planned in 'Capital Plan'; Daxinggong Square, Hanzhongmen Square, and Xi'anmen Square are along other main roads planned in 'Capital Plan'; Hanzhongmen Square and Xi'anmen Square are special cases only could be found in Nanjing, they are renovated on the sites of remaining city gates; except Shanxilu Square, all of the others are aside metro sta-

tions.

If I ask 10 pedestrians randomly on a street of what people will do in the square of Nanjing, there is high chance that I will receive 10 different answers. Somebody may say that people do morning exercise there, while others may say people play with their children there; Old man may complain their wife always dance there and neglect them while old women may charge their husband stay there all day for chess. However, none of these answers is complete describe of square life. Square life changes from morning to night, from old to young, from man to women, it is impossible to get the true image if the observer just stays there 2 hours a day.

Therefore, I need to stay in squares from very early in the morning (this depends on the time of sunrise, people go to square earlier in summer than winter) to about 21:00 in the night. I spent 3 days in each square, 2 workdays and 1 weekend for each. To do so, I realize how people use squares from morning to night, meanwhile, I experiences the square myself—is it pleasant or not, may I get something to eat if I am hungry, is there a public toilet inside the square, etc. From personal feeling, Hanzhongmen square is the place makes my study most comfortable and joyful.

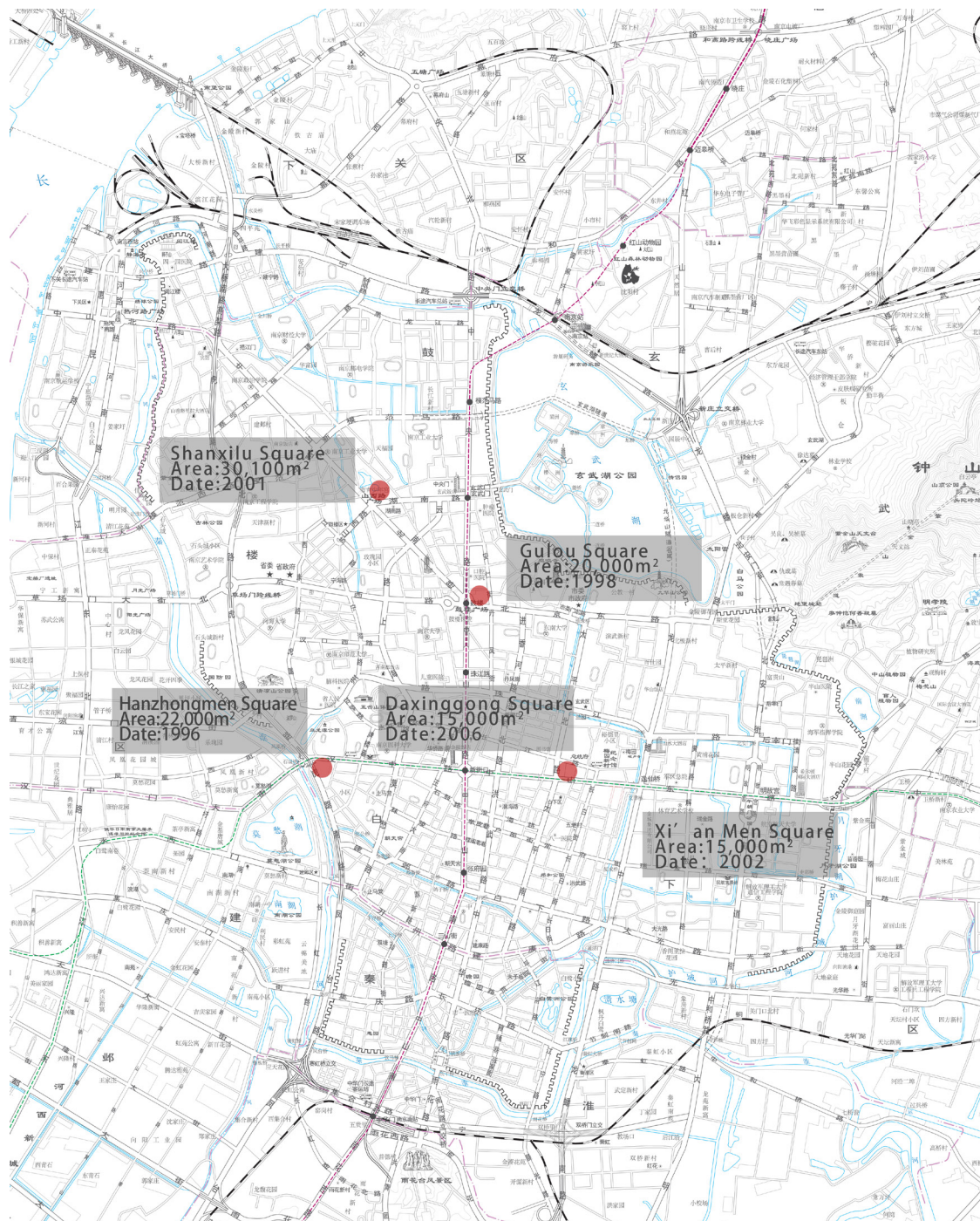


Fig 1-6 Cases selected adapted from Map of Nanjing, 2002, Nanjing Institutes of Surveying, Mapping & Geographical Investigation

Inspired by Whyte (1980), I choose photograph and filming as the basic methods to record public life. Before I start filming, I carefully observe my objects and find people's activities are quite regular and similar in all of them. I divided my job into 6 sessions: Sunrise-9:00, 9:00-12:00, 12:00-14:00, 14:00-17:30, 17:30-19:30, 19:30-21:00. In each session, I chose 15 minutes to take photos. All of this photo and video will be significant material for analyzing public life and people's preference for staying in space.

I used to consider questionnaire as a good way to understand square user's option, but it proved to be a stupid idea very soon. Since most of the users are old people, they do not understand how to answer the question on the form. Besides, most of them are very reluctant to do the questionnaire because of presbyopia. Finally, I chose to ask questions when chatting with them. Although it takes more time than the questionnaire, I got more information since interviewees were happier to chat with a people than fill a form.

Material selection

There are 2 things must be noticed when selecting material in the thesis. The first is the date of the paper/book. Although squares could be found in every city of China today and people have accepted it as a part of urban life, they are the 'stranger' of most cities. It seems that people always need some time to accept new things since descriptions about a square could be quite different between conditions of today and a paper written in 10 years ago. Deng Xiangyu said in his 'a study of renovation and reconstruction on Quancheng Square and Quancheng shopping street area in Jinan' that, the utilization of Quancheng Square is quite low except holidays. This paper was written in 2004, 5 years after the inauguration of Quancheng Square. Conditions of utilization have changed a lot 10 years after this paper, Quancheng Square is active like other civic squares in China nowadays.

The second is political background. During Mao's age and even decades after his death, there are many papers have the clear political inclination, for example, Wu Liangyong himself is a respectful scholar but his paper

in the 70s is obviously influenced by political environment.

1.5 Literature review

1.5.1 Square study in China

There have been numbers of researches about Chinese square by architects, urban planners, historians, and sociologists, but comparing the large number of systematical researches about square in Europe and American, Chinese square study is quite abundant in quantity but far from systematical in depth. Roughly, there are 3 types of square research in China:

The first type is the description of a certain project or several projects, this type is most usual and could be found in large number in Cnki—a Chinese journal database. There are 2 categories of this type: one is written by architects, another is mainly written by students. Architect's paper of this type usually is a design introduction of their own project, for example, Yu Kongjian, Wan Jun and Shi Ying (2004) published a paper about their newly built square in Chengdu; this paper focus on their attempt to design a space could gather people together and landscape could interact with users. While students usually describe a square's merits and weakness or compare several squares through survey; like Zhou Yanhua (2009) compare 3 most typical squares in Dalian, and get the conclusion that these 3 squares have the same problem that they are too big and caused the low utilization of central area; this kind of grand but monotonous spaces are not capable of satisfying people's requirement for public life.

The second is general critics of Chinese square, usually this type is comparative studies between excellent cases or classical theory in Europe, American, Japan and Chinese square. Chen Xiaotong(2002) got a conclusion through comparison that the basic problem of Chinese square is they are designed for the government rather than ordinary people: politicians who have immense power on square design and construction do not care if it is comfortable or pleasant for commoners, they just want squares which appear grand and gorgeous as their political achievements and good bargain for promotion.

The third type is the history of Chinese square. This topic is referred frequently, but systematical studies are quite rare, especially hardly be seen by architects and urban planners; they could be found in sociologist or historian's articles. In Cao Wenming's Ph.D. dissertation (2005), he made a specific description of square's development by timeline, but he is holding a different view about squares origin with common opinions by architects and urban planners. he asserts that China has square since more than 3000 years ago.

Besides, there is a book called 'City Square' written by Cai Yongjie in 2006, this is quite an exceptional work in China since it is a general description of Chinese square's history, development, activities, cases in major cities and square facilities. Basic knowledge of almost every aspect about Chinese square could be found in this book, but it is not enough to take reference of it for further knowledge.

In those papers, authors show various interests in the square, but attentions towards the relationship between square's form and urban history, shapes and urban laws are far from enough.

1.5.2 Square, public life and human in space

Public life

If you search 'square of Nanjing' in CNKI (a Chinese journal database), there will be many papers to describe a project in design concept, site plan or even greenery design. For example, Li Bingnan (2006) made an exhaustive study about Shanxilu Square's location, theme, design concept, aesthetic, plan, organization, greenery design, water landscape and entertaining facility. But where are the people? Will users like it? How do they use it? What do they usually come here for? The ignore of public life also reflect a problem of popular design concept in China—as Chen Xiaotong(2002) criticized in his 'Comparison of Western and Chinese Modern City Design' that, Chinese squares are utilized as a method for Mayor's promotion, they want square to be grand and luxuriant; Chinese architects always claim that their purpose of this design is to fulfill people's preference and needs, but in reality we can not find a design

concerning people.

It is very difficult to find a paper for the public life despite the reality that squares are built for public activities. As Lynch pointed in his 'Life between buildings', life between buildings comprises the entire spectrum of activities, which combine to make communal spaces in cities and residential areas meaningful and attractive. (2011,P.14) Xia Fei (2007) made some narration of public life in a paper 'public spaces and citizen's lives' after field study of 3 squares in Nanjing, this is quite a meaningful work and quite rare in the study of Chinese square. However, public life in square starts from sunrise and end in around 21:00am, conditions change from time to time during a day. If a researcher does not stay in a square for a whole day, it is impossible to get complete material and knowledge of what people would do in a square. Xia Fei's stayed a few hours in each square, this made his work inappropriate in some description, for example, he said square users do not welcome the lower part of Hanzhongmen Square, but actually, this area is fully used by children at about 9:00 in the morning and by square dancers after 19:00 in the evening.

Human in space

It seems that space is neglected in the square study of China. Quite a few papers referred to this realm but in a very short paragraph. Wang Hui, Wu Xiao, and Zhu Kai (2012) mentioned Shanxilu Square is divided with the surrounding road by pavement and greenery. Duan Junyuan (2007) analyzed the scale and proportion of Gulou Square. As Chen Xiaotong (2002) pointed out, the design concept of Chinese square is 2 dimensional, architects care too much about the plan but neglect the space.

Those papers have the same character: they analyze space and function of a square but show few interests in the human who using the space. However, the relationship between space and human, functions and society is what I am interested in. A type of space may be disgusted by some people but favored by others, space have high uncertainty and flexibility; some of the public activities are not naturally formed, but pushed by the social environment.

2 A long debate of the short history

It may seem rather strange to start a study on ‘history’ since this research is supposed to focus on ‘Contemporary’. However, history is invisible but deeply influence people’s reflection towards every aspect of society, including the design and use of square. It will be greatly helpful to define what exactly a square is and how the historical or social conditions act to shape the peculiar character of spaces.

The first aim of this chapter is to clarify a fundamental issue, that square is a term imported to China in the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century along with the establishment of concessions by Russian, Italian, German and so on. Meanwhile, explanations about why square was not generated in China will be given: the absolute monarchy of China and the ruler’s attitude towards business impeded the generation of square.

The second part is a narration of the short history of square. Before the establishment of Communist China, the Russian, Italian, German and Nationalist government have practiced numbers of fine squares, but unfortunately their efforts have little influence on square design of communist China before 1978, since in Mao’s age, except the Soviet Union, other country’s experience would be considered as capitalism and imperialism.

After a short review of the history, a conclusion could be got that what influence form and function of Chinese squares most were ideology transformation and political correctness.

2.1 Tradition or importation--the long debate of Chinese square

2.1.1 The debate of the square’s origin

1. Square is not a Chinese tradition

Nowadays, it is universally accepted that China did not have the tradition to build squares. ‘Square originated in Mediterranean culture; it is

a special phenomenon during their urban development’, as Cai Yongjie said in the very beginning of his book ‘Urban Squares’. (2006, P.1) Similar ideas could be found in various of books and articles, like Li Yunhe’s statement in his ‘Cathay’s Idea’: Squares are rarely be found in Chinese cities, since there are enclosed space (courtyard) inside every building group, it is quite unnecessary to set up squares in the city’; (1982-2005,p.402) Zhao Yu pointed out ‘Because of the differences of political regime, there was not square in Chinese cities appeared in history.(2011,P24)

2. Square is not imported but generated in China

But there are different voices about whether Chinese square is originated in or imported to this land. ‘The broad street in front of the palace is a square’ (Fig 2-1), Wu Liangyong, an influential architect and scholar nationwide and worldwide, arguing in a journal article ‘transformation and renovation from the royal square to people’s square’. (1977, p2) Professor Wu is not the only scholar who is holding this opinion, Cao Wenming had a specific describe on his opinion about how traditional Chinese squares looks like and made a category for them. (2005) Some other scholars, like Yan Baoping (2009), Li Xu (2012) also agree with Cao.

Their arguments start with an archeology discover ‘Jiangzhai’ Site in 1972; Jiangzhai was a Neolithic tribe 6700 years ago, its residential area was composed of 5 big houses served as public buildings of the tribe, and about 100 small houses as the tribe members’ living places. All these houses shape a circular space (Fig 2-2), which archeologists called it square since their first fieldwork report. (1984, p54) Cao Wenming considers it as the embryo of Chinese square. (2005) This space was used for safe guard and gathering for both religious and secular purpose. In Cao’s opinion, all the other ‘squares’ appear afterward were the evolution of this ‘tribe square’. He made 5 categories of different squares: Altar Square (Fig 2-1), Palace Square (Fig 2-1), Temple Square, Entertainment Square, Market Square, Military Square:

Altar Square: Altar is used for the ceremony to memory and pay gratitude to ancestors of the royal family, sages like Confucius and nature² with sacrifice.Cao defines the space around the altar is ‘square’.

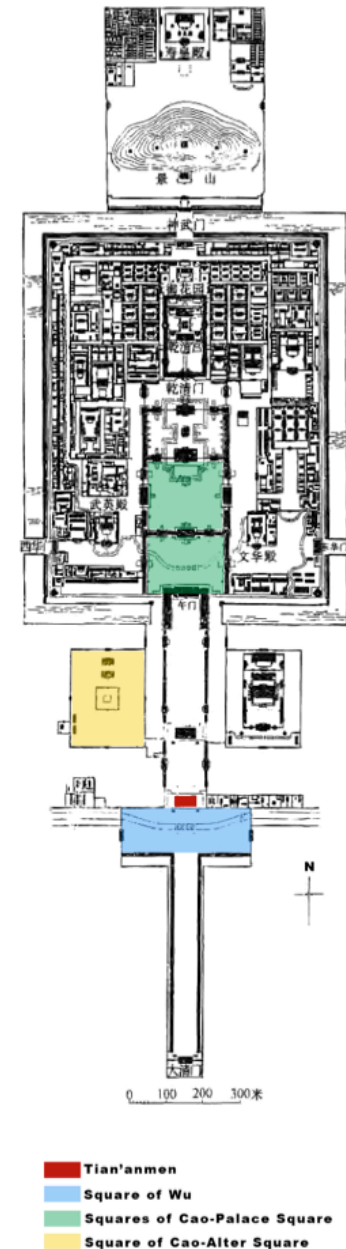


Fig 2-1 Plan of Forbidden City,
Source:潘谷西主编，中国建筑史，P119

² Nature means the world offer people an environment for life, the sky offers wind and rain, the earth offers soil for plant, the sun offers the light and heat, the moon offers a reference for calendar, the cereal offers food, silkworm offers cloth. Altar is different from temples: altar is used for Pantheism ceremony while temple is used for Theism ceremony.

³We could know from history document that in 872A.C, there are Christian ‘temples’ existed in Chang’an, as well as Pessimism temples and mosques. But they are minority.

Palace Square: Chinese Palaces have a special character: the government is in the front of the house of royal family (Books of Diverse Crafts, around the end of ‘the spring and autumn period, 770-476B.C’). In the government part, there was a series of large spaces for the royal and national ceremony. These spaces are enclosed inside the building group, only the royal family and aristocracy are entitled to attend those ceremonies.

Military Square: Cao thinks the army’s training fields are ‘square’.

Temple Square: Temple mainly means Buddhist temple and Taoist temple³, Cao considers the courtyards inside the building group are ‘square’.

Entertainment Square: Cao thinks ‘Wazi’ and ‘Goulan’, two kinds of space recorded in the historical document, which people carried on their entertainment activity are ‘square’.

Market Square: Cao defines the ancient Chinese markets are ‘square’.



Fig 2-2 Model of Jiangzhai Tribe source: 中国历史博物馆，1998, 中國通史陳列，北京: 朝華出版社出版，P16

In fact, the first, second and third squares Cao defined were not used for public life, reversely only royal member and aristocracy have the privilege to attend the events carried on in them. Commoners' appearance was strictly forbidden in these spaces. The temple squares were actually courtyards. Entertainment Squares were part of the market and defined as 'street culture' by Liu Diyu. (2010) As for markets, before Song Dynasty (960A.D.—1279A.D.), were framed in walls; they were under the administration of government, open in the morning and close at sundown; they were not even open spaces. After Song Dynasty, trades usually were conducted on streets, markets almost equaled as streets.

3 A misunderstanding of notion

What caused the divergence towards the origin of Chinese square? The answer is, these 2 groups of scholars, they have made a very different definition of the term 'square'.

For those who think Chinese do not have the tradition of building the square, they made researches of the western notion of 'Square', taken reference definitions by different scholars, like Camillo Sitte, Hans Aminde, Kevin Lynch, Clare Cooper, and Yoshinobu Ashihara. For those who prefer not to do so many literature works, they also could find a clear definition of square in the 'Chinese Encyclopedia': square is a kind of open space shaped by buildings, roads or greenery in a city; it is the center of citizen's public life.

For those who think there are squares in ancient China, they define 'square' in a Chinese way. In Chinese, square is translated into 2 Chinese character: '广/场', which have its original meaning as 'a wide place for people's activity' before it was used as the translation of the English words 'square'. If they ignore the implication given by the English word 'square', and just use the meaning of the Chinese word, certainly they could consider the courtyards of palace and temple as 'squares'. Actually, Cao Wenming (2005) has mentioned in his Ph.D. Dissertation 'A Cultural Interpretation of Urban Square' that he would not use the western definitions of squares like Paul Zucker's (1959).

However, if we consider the architectural meaning of ‘square’, those spaces Cao defined as ‘square’ cannot be called square. Since they do not have any influence on the urban structure while they are not open to the public. Therefore, the architectural sense of square is not original in Chinese cities; they are imported to China along with the establishment of foreign concessions, like the Russian concession in Dalian and the Italian concession in Tianjin.

2.1.2 the city without square

For us, who live in cities that square has become essential nowadays, must be extremely curious about how ancient Chinese conduct their public life without the square. The answer by historian Wang Di is that the streets were the most important public spaces. As he pointed out in the introduction of his ‘Street Culture in Chengdu’: Street culture was an important part of popular culture, and street life was central to the daily lives of city dwellers. (2013,P1) But in Chinese, there are 2 words represent public life, one is ‘街头’ which refers to streets; another is ‘市井’ which refers to markets. Streets became the center of human life since ‘the late imperial’ period, which starts in 962 A.D., the year Song Dynasty was established. Before this dynasty, commerce was confined to official markets; during this period, markets were the center of public life.

‘Bianliang’（汴梁）was a typical case to show the street culture of China. 2 years before the German king Otto I was crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman by the Pope John XII (960A.D.), a Chinese military general of the Late Zhou house（后周）, came to power through coup d’état, his name is Zhao Kuangyin（赵匡胤）. Zhao established the richest country on earth of the day and made ‘Bianliang’（汴梁）the capital of this wealthy and elegant dynasty by 962 A.D.

With a population of over 1 million, this city was one of the biggest cities in the world. Although today this prosperous city had been buried 6-9m underneath, we could get a glimpse of its street culture from a great scroll painting called ‘Along the River During the Qingming Festival’

But different with Western cities, plan and design of streets were processions without consideration of street life. The ‘street culture’ did not shape the spaces of streets but adapt to them. (Liu, D., 2010, P367)

2.1.3 Why square wasn’t generated on this land



There hasn’t been a specific research towards this question. Some scholars generally said: because the political difference between Europe and China, squares were not be generated on this land. While Cai Yongjie has an extra answer: there are two prerequisites for the generation of square, the first is people’s lifestyle needs square; the second is people should favor outdoor activities. (2006, P1) The first might be reasonable, but the second could be proved to be partial by numerous of evidence. For example, people of Tang Dynasty was keen to play polo, even some women like it; almost every traditional festival of China were related to some outdoor activities, like 15th of February, there will be lantern shows and fireworks on street; 3rd of March by Chinese calendar, people would go to riverside to appreciate spring view and have feast outdoor. (Fig2-4) The problem is not people dislike outdoor activities but they find alternatives suitable for them instead of squares.

Fig 2-3 Along the river during the Qingming Festival-The street culture of Bianliang, painted by Zhang Zeduan(1085-1145). This painting is a vivid reflection of the city ‘Bianliang’. The scroll is 25.5 centimeters in height and 5.25 meters long. Source:Palace Museum of Beijing

This question might be explained by the evolvement of urban space. When a tribe evolved to a city, big clans were split into numerous of small families. The primary square in Jiangzhai was also divided into pieces and became courtyard of families. (Fig2-5) Courtyards minimize people’s needs of public space. As Fredrick Mote pointed out: the Chinese city did not totally lack public spaces, but it had less need of them because its citizens had, and probably preferred, their small, private, but open and sunny courtyards. (1995,p116)

Fig 2-4 Feast in the spring riverside
Source: Yamamoto Jakurin, 1790, Meandering Stream at Lanting, hanging scroll color on silk, Kobe City Museum



If China's primary tribes evolved towards regime like Greek polis, the 'tribe square' might have the opportunity to become a true square. But unfortunately, they developed towards a different way—autocratic monarchy. In the primary clans, a public space is the center of a tribe; but in a monarchical city, the palace became the center of a city. (Fig2-6)

This may also be explained sociologically: only within a civilization where the anonymous human being had become a 'citizen', where democracy had unfolded to some extent, could the gathering place become important enough to take on specific shape. (Zucker, 1966, P19)

But 'citizen' had never appeared in China (even now). In the 20s of last century, when the terms 'society' and 'citizen' were firstly introduced to China, Chinese scholars cannot find a Chinese word as the translation of these 2 words. This is why Jing Guantao said: There is a third realm existed between country and family in China, but it is impossible to become public space. (Jin & Liu, 2005, P185)

The development of business was the key point to the generation of western public realm. (Yu, 2005, P68) As a continental country, the Chinese

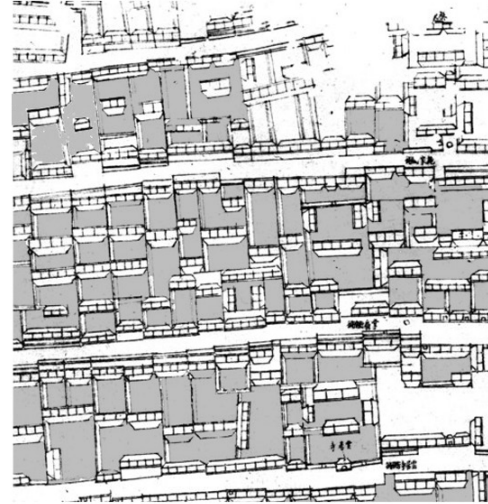


Fig 2-5 From big gens to little family--from tribe 'square' to courtyards
 Left: The institute of archeology, CASS,1984, Archeological Excavation and Researches in the New China,P72
 Right: 乾隆京城全图局部, retrieved from Toyo archive

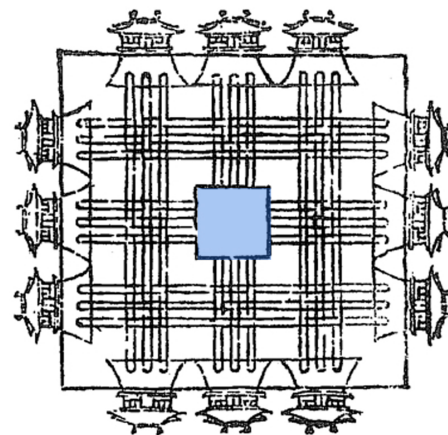
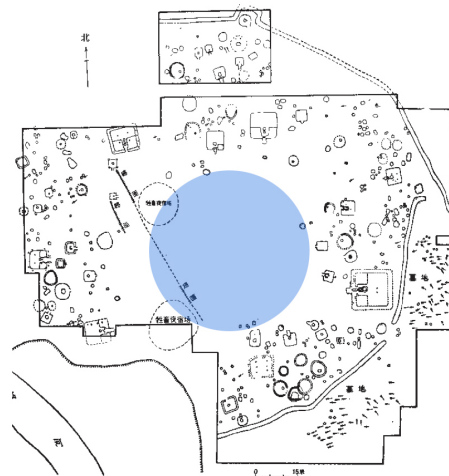


Fig 2-6 In a monarchical city, palace became the center of city Source: Left, The institute of archeology, CASS,1984, Archeological Excavation and Researches in the New China,P72 Right, 潘谷西, 2009,中国建筑史

people had to make their living by agriculture. Agriculture was called the root and commerce was called the branch. (Feng, 1948, P17, P18) Markets, the most important public space of cities was controlled and organized by the government. Craftsmen and merchants must live in a certain area under official control; their descendants would lose the opportunity to go into the gentry's class through imperial examination. The suppression of business impeded the development and generation of Chinese citizen.

Besides, strictly speaking, the Chinese words ‘城市或城池’ did not equal to ‘city’. In British Dictionary, part of the explanation of ‘city’ is: came from Old French cite, from Latin civitas, from civis ‘citizen’. It contains the meaning of citizenship and citizen right. But the Chinese words ‘城市或城池’, the former means city wall and market; the later means city wall and moat. ‘The Chinese city, despite all analogies differed decisively from that of the Occident...the cities in China and throughout the Orient lacked political autonomy. The oriental city was not a ‘polis’ in the sense of Antiquity, and it knew nothing of the ‘city law’ of the Middle Ages, for it was not a ‘commune’ with political privilege of its own’. (Weber, 1951,P13)

In the words of Nicias to the Athenian soldiers on the beach at Syracuse: “You are yourself the town, wherever you choose to settle....it is the men that make the city, not the wall and ships without them” (Thucydides vii.63). For Greeks, people are the most important element of city beyond all the other things. While in a Chinese history book written in about 45-56 A.C., the main purpose to build a city was stated: the aim of city is to guard our lord and keep the population. (赵晔, 吴越春秋) Maybe the primary and original purpose to build a Chinese city has shown that it is an impossible land for square's genesis.

2.2 the short history of Chines square

2.2.1 Squares in concession

Squares came to China along with the establishment of concessions af-

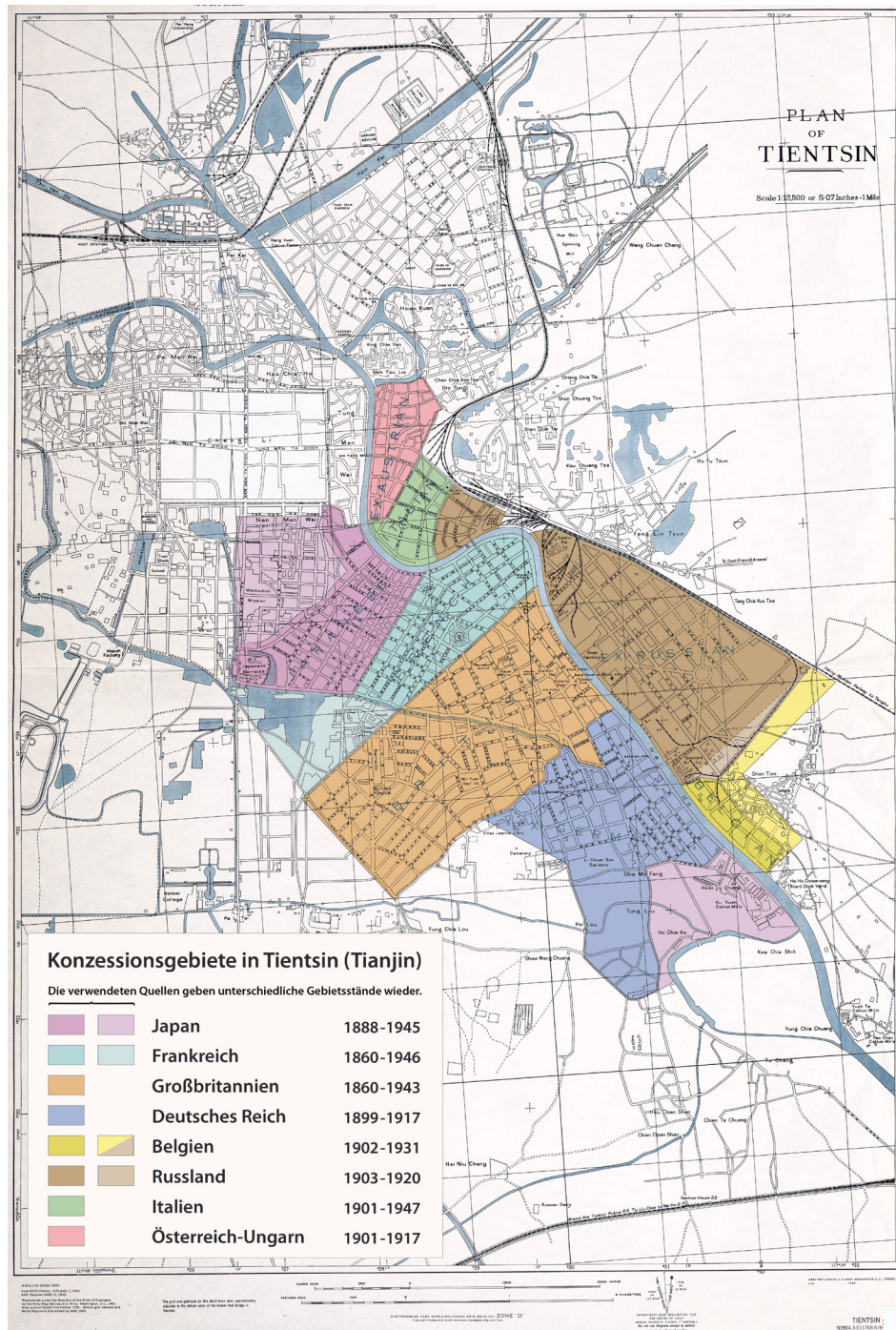


Fig 2-7 Concessions of Tianjin in 1912,
Source: Army Map Service, U.S.Army,
Washington.D.C, retrieved from [https://
en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Karte_der_Konzessionsgebiete_in_Tientsin.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Karte_der_Konzessionsgebiete_in_Tientsin.jpg)

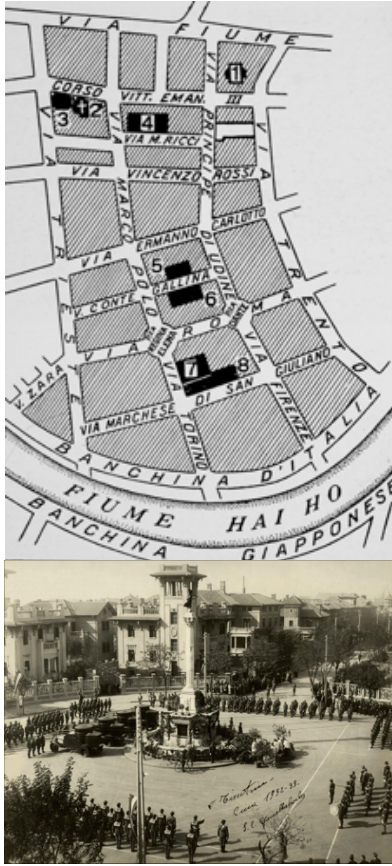


Fig 2-8 The Italian concession and Piazza Regina Ellena Source: detailed in figure list

ter the Opium War II. Although which one is the first square is difficult to trace, we could know from historical documents that ‘Piazza Regina Ellena’ (also known as ‘Piazza Marco Polo’ in Tianjin the Italian concession and ‘Nikolai’s Square’ in Dalian the Russian concession) were among the earliest squares in China. The importation of square introduced an exotic urban culture to China and offered Chinese an opportunity to begin a different kind of urban life.

‘La Concessione Italiana di Tientsin’ was a small territory about 51 hectares in Tianjin controlled by the Kingdom of Italy from 1901 to 1947. (Fig2-7) By 1935 the population of the Italian Concession reached 6,261, including 110 Italian civilian and 535 foreigners. The Italian Royal Navy stationed some vessels in Tianjin. There was even a football team. The concession was planned in a grid system, with 2 squares, Piazza Regina Ellena and Piazza Dante located at the intersection of South-North roads and East-West roads. Piazza Regina Ellena is a circular square of 2,200 m² with a ‘Monumento al Milite Ignoto (Monument for Anonymous Soldier)’ and a fountain in the center. (Fig2-8) This square was used mainly for transportation, and military parade at National Day of Italy.

The Russian concession in Dalian was established in 1899. Russian spent 10,000,000 rubles to build this city into an international commercial port. The urban plan of Dalian was an imitation of St. Petersburg, but St. Petersburg’s urban plan took references to Paris at Peter the Great’s preference. Therefore, the urban plan of Dalian has the character of Paris. (Fig2-9) The transportation system is constituted by circular squares and radiating roads. The center of this system is Nikolai’s Square, it is the biggest square in the city with a diameter of 213m and area of 22,600m²; roads radiate from this square then connect with other smaller squares. (Fig2-10) Unlike the Italian circular squares in Tianjin, there are lawns, parterres, and trees in Nikolai’s Square, to decorate and divide the space.

But all squares in concession were not imported into ‘Chinese cities’. Since the Italian concession and Russian concession were planned and built totally under the foreign administration, and they design their concessions in the Italian or Russian way, squares came to foreign cities lo-

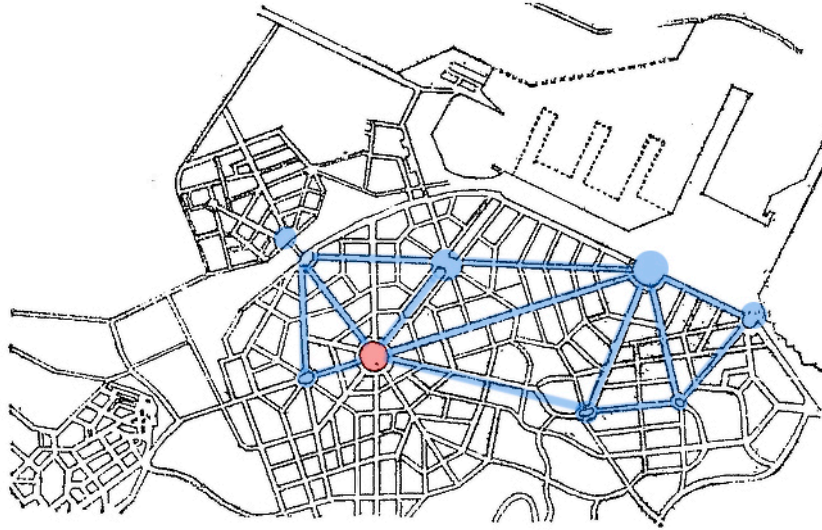


图 11-2-1 大连规划图 (1900 年)

Fig 2-9 Squares of Dalian the Russian concession, 1900 adapted from 中国城市建设史, 董鉴泓, 2004, p290

Fig 2-10 Nikolai's Square, Source: Published by South Manchuria Railway Co. 1941



cated on Chinese land. Therefore, squares in concessions introduce a new notion of urban design to China but have not be imported as the new urban space to Chinese cities.

⁴ Republic of China was established in 1912, ruled by Kuomintang's (also known as Nationalist) government. It lost the control of China mainland in 1949 and retreated to Taiwan. Although Taipei is the de facto capital of Taiwan, Nanjing is still its de jure capital.

⁵ Henry K. Murphy (1877-1954) was famous for his practice of 'Adaptive Chinese Renaissance' style in architecture and urban design. Murphy was graduate of Yale in 1899 and practice in various of Beaux-Art influenced architectural company after graduation. One of his notable suggestions was to save the city wall of Nanjing and renovated it into a concourse for people's gathering and activity.

⁵ Ernest P. Goodrich (1874-1955) was a renowned civil engineer and city planner.

2.2.2 Squares of Capital Regime

In 1927, Nanjing became the capital of Republic of China⁴ and 1 year later a National Capital Reconstruction Planning Committee was organized, with American Henry K. Murphy⁵ as chief architects; Murphy hired Ernest P. Goodrich⁶ to assist him, then Goodrich hires 2 American Colonel Irving C. Moller and Theodore T. M cCroskey, to assist in solving cartographic and engineering problems. (Cody, 2003, P116-117) Lin Yimin (林逸民), an American-educated engineer, was the principal Chinese appointed to the Committee, with Zhou Yue and Huang Yuyu as the other two engineering and architectural assistants. Famous Chinese architect Lv Yanzhi (吕彦直) studied in American also took part of the plan.

Henry K. Murphy was famous for his 'Adaptive Chinese Renaissance' style in China, as well as Lv Yanzhi. They use the Western way to plan the reasonable function and spatial sequence but maintain the oriental aesthetic, and culture is well balanced in their design. Predictably, urban plan-

ning leading by them would be a compromise of Western and Eastern style. The 'Capital Plan' was published in 1929, in this regime, the city was requested to be planned in a 'scientific' Western way but the cityscape should keep Chinese aesthetic.

Nanjing was divided into several areas: national government area, municipal government area, industrial area, commercial area, educational area and residential area. (Dong, 2004,p330) The plan of national government area was an imitation of Washington D.C, composed with grid and radiating roads. (Fig2-11, 2-12) This was a symmetrical plan with strong axis; the main axis was designed as a boulevard connected squares in sequence; architecture in this area was planned in the form of Chinese courtyard and would be designed in an 'Adaptive Chinese Renaissance' style. But different with the traditional courtyard, those courtyards were supposed to join the urban system, and some of them could serve as squares. If this plan was realized, Nanjing would become a city with a scientific plan and maintain oriental aesthetic. Unfortunately, because the everlasting civil war, Japanese invasion and the communist army took the power at last, this plan became an idea forever.

Road widening efforts were the most visible achievement of the Committee's work, they are still the main roads of Nanjing today. For example, Zhongshan Road started from the very west of the city and ended in the very east. It passed through 6 squares nowadays, which were designed to organize the transportation, including Xijiekou Square which was built in 1931 to memorize Sun Zhongshan--the Father of Republic, it is the first square of Nanjing. (Fig2-13,2-14)

The 'Capital Plan' was an attempt to use Western idea and concept for the construction of an oriental city. As for the design of square, the Reconstruction Planning Committee tried to create new style with oriental aesthetic and special form. This unfulfilled plan was an attempt to find a different way to built modern cities while maintain the culture of nation.



Fig 2-14 Murphy's design of Xijiekou Square, Source: 国都设计技术专员办事处, 1930, 首都计划, 第二十三图

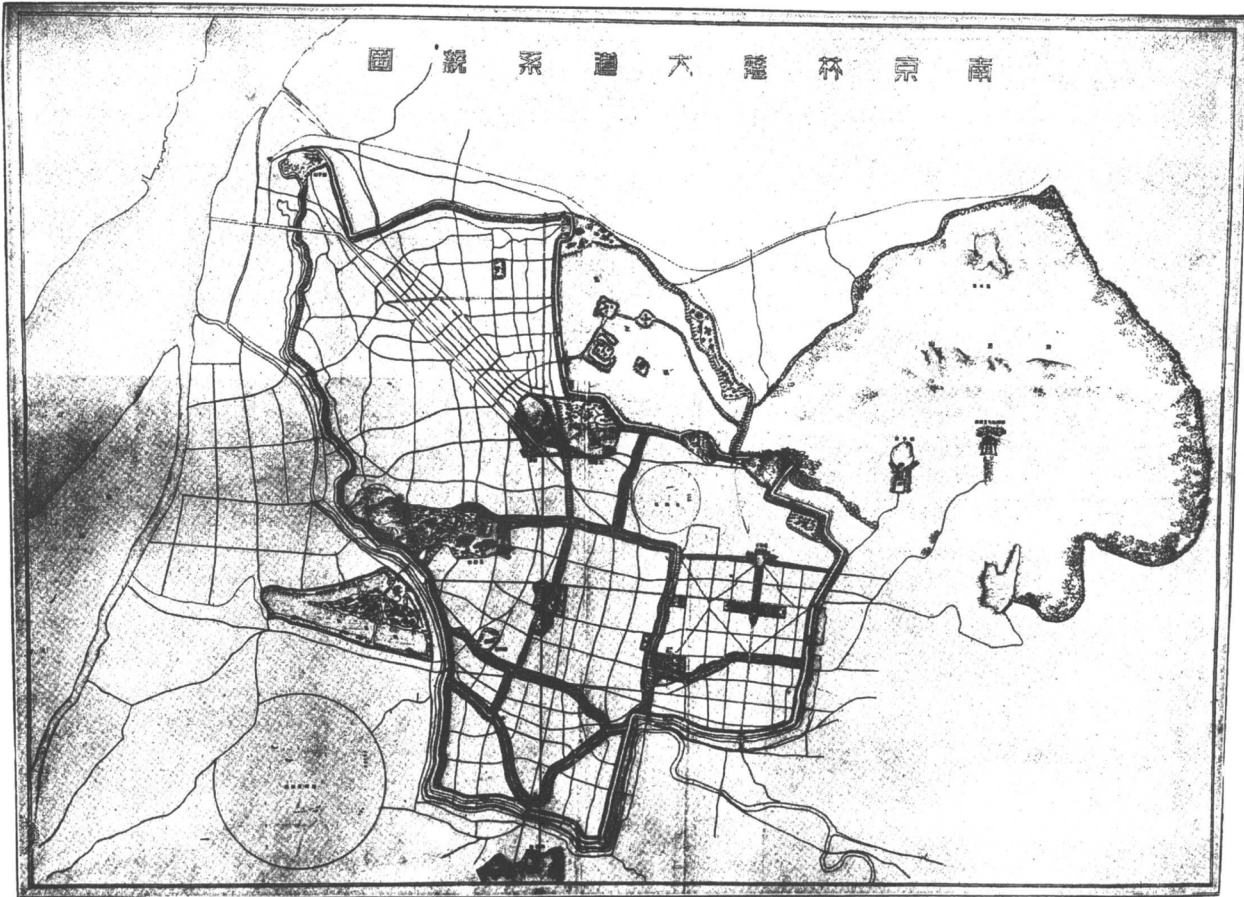


Fig 2-11 Boulevards in capital plan Souce: 国都设计技术专员办事处，1930,首都计划， P110

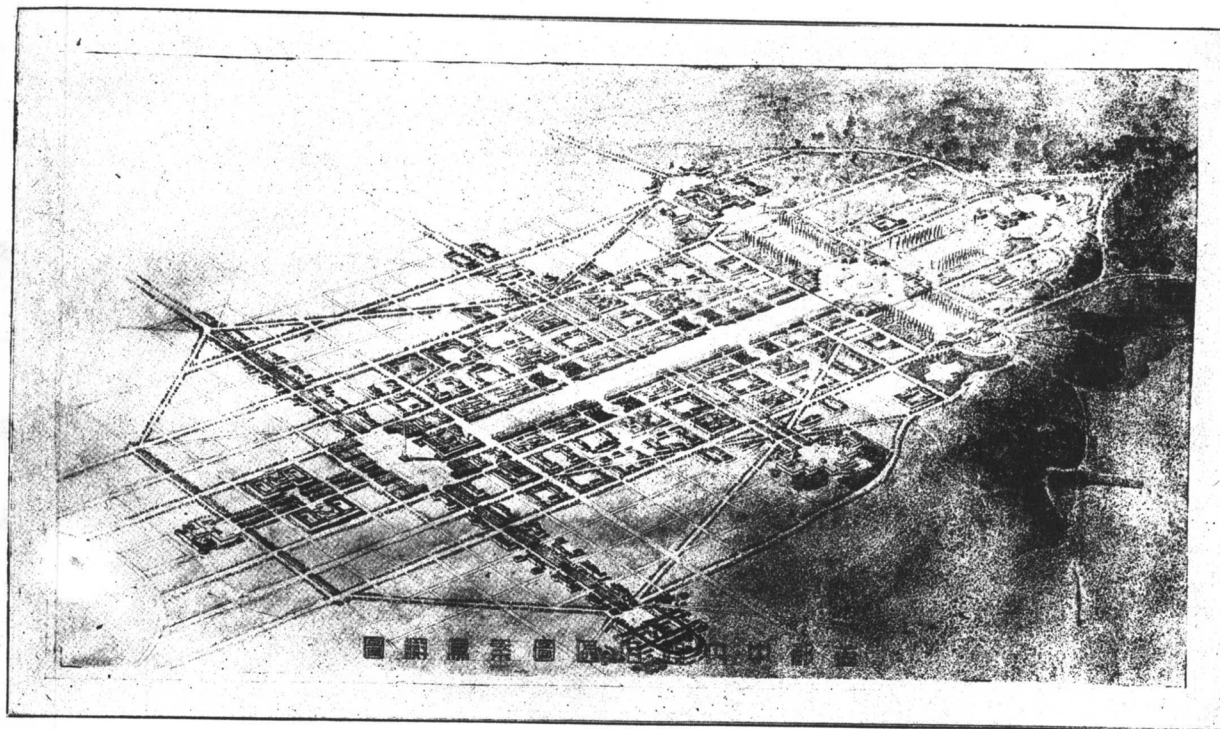


圖 三 十 第

Fig 2-12 the plan of national government area, 国都设计技术专员办事处, 1930, 首都计划, P47



Fig 2-13 Xijiekou Square in 30s of last century, Retrieved from http://dfz.nanjing.gov.cn/17670/17674/201207/t20120722_985316.html

2.2.3 Squares of politic

Politics affected design and development of square enormously in Mao's age, the paramount leader's instructions had great significance in every aspect of the country. Although sounds rather absurd nowadays, in that period, square must be designed in a 'socialistic way' and serve for political movements. 'Political Correctness' intervened form and function of a square in a great deal. Meanwhile, the fundamental unit of society—'danwei' became obstacles for the development of square.

1 Soviet mode--Design guideline from the instruction of national leader

In October of 1953, an editorial called 'fight for a right way to design properly' was published in China's Daily—the party's mouthpiece. It said: there are 2 kinds of philosophy for design, one is capitalism, another is socialism; if we want to improve our design skill, we must criticize and abandon the capitalist style, study and promote the socialistic one. (China's Daily, 1953) Although this announcement sounds absurd and lacks logic today, architects had no choice but obey. But what is a socialist style? Maybe it was the most difficult problem Chinese architects have ever met.

Mao's instruction was unquestionable, therefor architects of China had to figure out a 'socialist' design method. Since modernism had been considered as 'capitalism' and the national leader Mao was appraising the 'Soviet Mode', a slogan was proposed: 'we must follow chairman Mao's instruction of study Soviet Union, prioritize the mission to introduce the Soviet experience on urban and architecture design' in the foreword of Architectural Journal. (建筑学报创刊词, 1954)

On this condition, if an architect proposed that 'the Italian squares are better experiences to study' or 'modernism is the most advanced theory nowadays', he would be charged as 'capitalist' or 'counter-revolutionary', and endanger himself of being humiliated and tortured in public, or facing the destiny of labor camp. Thus, when modernism was the

central theme of architecture in the rest of the world, Chinese architects began to study from Soviet Union. They get knowledge of Soviet Union architecture through visit Soviet Union and study from architects come from the Soviet Union¹⁰. Yuan Jun summarized Soviet style that it has the character of Russian classical style, strictly symmetrical, has decorations like red stars, sickles, axes which symbolize socialism and statues like workers, peasants, teachers and scientist which symbolize socialistic constructor; Large scale and rectangle plan are also features of the Soviet-style. (2012, P85) He also considers the square in front of the Beijing Soviet Union Exhibition as a typical case of Soviet Union style. It is a symmetrical square of 14,175 m² (135*105), have marble-cobble mixed pavement and a large fountain. (Fig2-15)

However, as for some historians, like Yu Ying-shih, Hung Chang-tai, Tian'anmen Square is a representative of the Soviet style. In the preface he wrote for Spence's 'The Gate of Heavenly Peace', Yu Ying-shih describes 'the communist party wants Tian'anmen Square to be the Red Square of China, make it as a tool to reign over the nation' (Yu, 2007). Hung Chang-tai thinks that, with the help of Soviet expert, Tian'anmen Square became a combination of monumentality and politicization (Hung, 2011). For Mao, Tian'an men Square is an altar to idolize him, a stage to perform theocracy. The political aesthetic under totalitarian of Tian'anmen square is learned from the Soviet Union.



¹⁰ In 50s of last century, Chinese government hires a lot of Soviet architect, urban planner and engineer to help Chinese for urban reconstruction, like A.Bold-yrev, V.K.Zmieviskii, G.A.Aseev. These experts also gave great number of lectures to Chinese architects, urban planners and engineers.

Fig 2-15 Square of Soviet Union Exhibition in 50s of last century Source: <http://www.baike.com/ipadwiki/%E5%8C%97%E4%BA%AC%E5%B1%95%E8%A7%88%E9%A6%86>

⁷ Actually architects did not have too much freedom in design; they have to choose between 'the party's taste' and labor camp.

⁸ Soviet Red Army helped Chinese army to drive Japanese invader out of Dalian.

Despite Soviet style was criticized as 'revisionism' after Sino-Soviet split since 1960, it has great influence in the design of square later. The 'socialistic symbols' (red stars, statue of worker, peasant and national leader, torch) and the symmetrical character were kept and used broadly in the squares built later.

2 Functions of the political squares

However, due to the failure of Mao's economic and politic strategies, China experience catastrophic damage in population, economy, religion, ethics and culture. Urban design and construction were in a status of stagnation since 1958, especially during the 10 years of Cultural Revolution since 1968. Under the economic and the political pressure, only squares for political purpose were built in some big cities. For example, August 1st Square in Nanchang (5.0 Hectare), Red Eastern Square in Lanzhou (5.5 Hectare), Red Flag Square in Datong (2.9 Hectare), May 1st Square in Taiyuan (6.3 Hectare), 'it is rather easy to recognize them by their names'. 'These political squares are usually axial symmetry, have a rectangle plan and large scale, place monument, statue (especially statue of Mao) or flagpole in the center, set rostrum in the most prominent place'. (Yuan, 2012,P89-90) (Fig2-16) Since 'large' was considered as a represent of socialistic superiority, architects of that age pursued too much of large scale in square design but ignored the spatial experience of the human⁷. Furthermore, as they prioritized political purpose upon human needs, there was no seats or facilities for people's stay on the large empty square.

In those squares, the most inexplicable movement in the world was performed. They witnessed an age of enthusiastic worship toward the national leader and political movements out of control. (Fig2-17)

There were other kinds of political squares. Before the Sino-Soviet split, China used to build a Stalin Square in Dalian to memorize the Soviet Red Army⁸ and Stalin in 1949-1954. It is a symmetrical square and divided into 4 parts by 2 roads. Every part is a garden and the center of the square is a monument for Soviet martyrs died in Dalian. Stalin Square had significant meaning in politic, decorated the city and orga-



Fig 2-16 Top: the statue of Mao and rostrum on Red Eastern Square, Lanzhou, 1969
Bottom: the statue of Mao on Central Square, Shenyang, photo by Jiang Shaowu



Fig 2-17 Political movement in Shenyang, 1969, Photo by Jiang Shaowu



Fig 2-18 Stalin Square (known as People's Square today) of Dalian, source: <http://liucs525.blog.sohu.com/209775591.html>

nized the transportation. (Fig2-18)

3 ‘Danwei’—Obstacles of the Square Development

⁹ Person who was not working in a ‘danwei’ cannot get access to the national welfare system, including free medical care, rationed food, cloth, meat, and retire pension.

‘Danwei’（单位） was the fundamental component of Chinese society and city under the planned economy. This word means ‘workunit’ if it is translated into English directly, but actually it has more complex implications. It was where people got employment, salary and social welfare⁹; it was also an organization got people housed (for free), trained, educated as well as surveyed. ‘Danwei’ was a political organization more than a social organization. As David Bray (2005) described it in ‘Social Space and Governance in Urban China’, ‘it’s a Chinese version of Pastoral-flock govern-mentality’. Besides, the name of a person’s ‘danwei’ was a label of his social identity; it offered the sense of belonging to the person work inside this regime.

‘Danwei’ could be called ‘spectacle’ generated by the ‘Chinese Socialism’. It is a kind of gated community which constituted not only by workspace; usually it contains accommodation, canteen, shop, kindergarten, public baths, clinic and dance hall; some ‘danwei’ even have cinema, primary school, secondary school, high school, vocational school, hospital. This means, the employees of ‘danwei’ have no needs to go out, they could get everything inside ‘danwei’: commodity supply, medical care, entertainment and social interaction. (Fig2-19)

Once people’s life was framed inside those gated and self-contained communities, development of urban public space was framed as well. Every ‘danwei’ became a little society, people would prefer to stay inside the wall, contact with their college in collective space of ‘danwei’ rather than interact with other people in public space of the city. In this condition, public spaces like squares, which were supposed to be the center of urban life, were decentralized and scattered into different ‘danwei’. Squares became redundant for a city.

Although traditionally, Chinese cities did not have squares serve for public issues, streets used to have great vitality in urban life. But in socialis-

tic China, walls and gates which frame ‘danwei’ makes the landscape of streets appear monotonous, the prosperous scene revealed in ‘the river-side on Qingming festival’ disappear outside the wall of ‘danwei’.

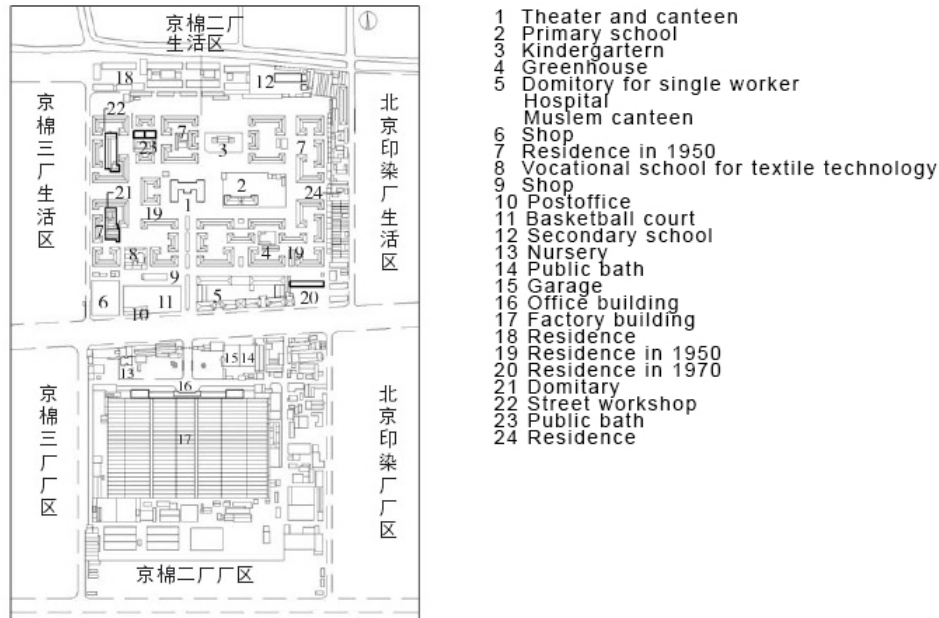


Fig 2-19 Plan of a typical gated community, Source: Zhang, Y., Chai, Y., Zhou, Q., (2009, 05) the Spatiality and Spatial Changes of Danwei Compound in Chinese Cities: Case Study of Beijing No. 2 Textile Factory, 国际城市规划, 24, 20—27

2.2.4 Squares for life

After Mao’s age, the development of Chinese squares experienced 2 stages. The first stage is function transformation; the second is the boom of square construction.

In the 80s and beginning of 90s, the work of square building was focused on renovation of existed squares. A representative case is Dongfanghong Square (means Eastern is red, red stands for socialism in Mao’s age) in Lanzhou. This square was built in 1968 for political gathering, it was an empty area with a statue of Mao; it witnessed most of the vital political movement of this city. Since 80s of last century, it was renovated into a park (but still with bear the name of square), lawns, plants bed, trees, fountains were built in this square. About 10 years later, a underground

commercial center was built and it was renovated again to fit the commercial purpose. In the beginning of 21 century, it was renovated into a civic square, people's requirements and activities were taken into consideration finally. (Wang, 2007) (Fig2-20) The transformation of this square in 32 years is a reflection of transformation on Chinese society, city, and the government policy; as well as the passive role architects could play in this procession.

In China, the 90s of last century was an age of square prosperous, especially after 1996; the construction of squares got a leap forward in the late 90s and the beginning of 21st century. Between 1996 and 1997, 5 editorials were published on the party's official paper 'China Daily' to pay compliments to squares of Dalian (there were lots of squares built by Russian and Japanese). Since 'China's Daily' was always the signpost of government's strategy, these articles were considered as a foregleam for the boom of square construction. Soon afterward, square construction prevailed in cities nationwide, only in Guangzhou, they planned to complete 40 squares by 2010. Even in cities that had financial problems in municipality built grand squares with loan.

'Big' was the most obvious character of those square built in this period, regardless of the urban structure and morphology, population and financial state. For example, Xinghai Square (means the sea of stars) in Dalian, started in 1993 and finished in 1997, its total area is 1,100,000m² (110 hectares), 2.5times of Tian'an men square's 440,000m² and 86 times of Piazza San Carlo's 12,768m², making it the largest square in the world. And it is not the only square in Dalian. (Fig2-21) Another example is Quancheng Square (means the city of spring) in Jinan, started in 1998 and finished in 1999, is 167,000m² (16.7 hectares, 780m*230m) in total. Sitte (1965) considered around 135m is the upper limit where body gestures can be distinguished and approximates closely with the recommendation, it should be the maximum size of a square. Those super squares of China are far beyond human's perception and sensibility.

The second character is that some of those squares look like parks or gardens more than squares since they have large areas of greenery. (Refer to



Fig 2-20 Plan of Dongfanghong Square, Lanzhou source:中国城市规划设计研究院 (2009.04) 城市轴线——兰州东方红广场设计方案, 城市环境设计, 30—38



Fig 2-21 Xinghai Square in Dalian, the largest square in the world Source: detail in figure list

Fig1-2) As Clare Marcus and Carolyn Francis's definition of square, 'a square is defined a mostly hard-surfaced, outdoor public space from which cars are excluded. If grass and planted areas exceed the amount of hard surface, we have defined the space as a park rather than a plaza'. (1976, p.10) Those squares were characterized with geometrical created plant bed or parterres, symmetrical plan, and strong axis; decorated with fountains, statues or some elements of the Chinese garden. An explanation of this wild analogy is pointed out by Cao Wenming (2005) that, Chinese squares were influenced by French Formal Garden (*Jardin à la Française*). At the 90s of last century, lots of Chinese gradually got opportunities to go abroad, especially government officers were sent abroad to study the advanced experience of urban plan. They were astounded by the grandeur of French symmetrical garden, when they came back, numerous of Chinese symmetrical squares with geometrical greenery were built due to their suggestion (quite a few architects had opportunities to go abroad for site study at the 90s of last century and their work were intervened by the government in a great deal). This explanation might not be universally right, but it is true in some cities. For example the Century Square in Zibo, it was planned and constructed after a study trip of the local government to Paris.

The third character is squares and cities are not planned together. This caused 2 problems for the city. One is the loose relationship between squares and surrounding buildings, squares are not enclosed by buildings and buildings do not have the direct relation with squares. (Fig2-22) Therefore, activities in Chinese squares tend to be carried on in the center instead of the edge. This issue will be discussed in 4th chapter in detail. Another is the demolishment of original urban structure and morphology. It is inevitable to change the structure and morphology if a totally new element is inserted to a city, but this kind of transformation worth a more cautious attitude. In Jinan, to make space for Quancheng Square, a large area of historical residence was pull down; in Chengdu, a famous Mosque built in 16 century was tear down while the residential area of Qing dynasty was demolished for the Tianfu Square. Altogether, in this condition, square is not a part of the city but a piece of the city.

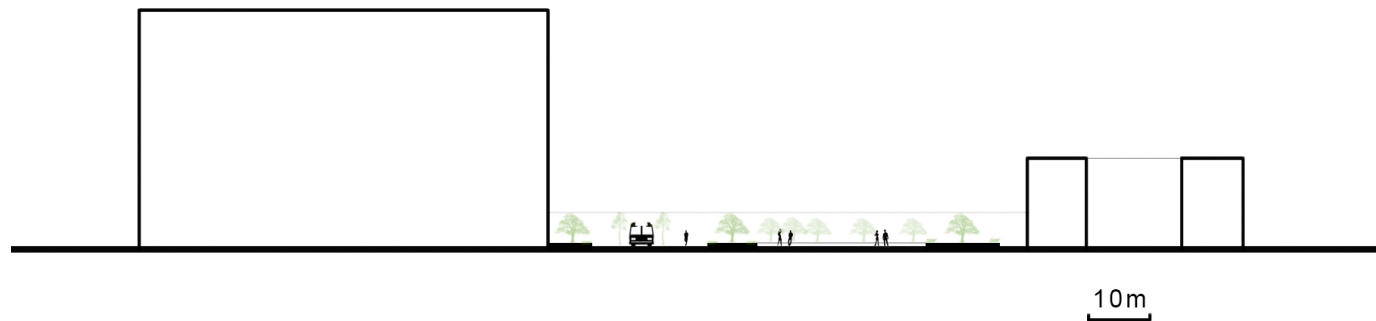


Fig 2-22 The loose relation between square and buildings

2.2.5 the Residue of History

Although only 38 years have passed since Mao's death, the history of this madness period seems very far away from us since China has changed drastically in every aspect of society. Then what history left for us?

The first and most significant influence is the detachment with the rest of the world exclude Chinese architects from the knowledge of progressing architectural theory. When theories of Modernism and Postmodernism gushed into China together in the 80s and 90s, architects were quite confused. In 1986, Charles Jencks's theory as 'The Language of Post-Modern Architecture' and 'What is Post-Modernism' were introduced into China and brought up the fever of Postmodernism. But Chinese architects made misreading and misunderstanding of Jencks's eclecticism theory, they advocated an unprincipled compromising of elements, no matter its style, order and aesthetic. It is quite usual in China to find a square has a plan imitating French garden, a statue of national leader learn from the Soviet Union, parterre looks like Italian Garden, rockery elements of the Chinese garden, Huabiao¹⁰ of Chinese Palace and other elements difficult to recognize what is their prototype. (Fig2-23)

¹⁰ Huabiao is a kind of stone column, usually located in front of a royal palace or tomb in ancient China.

Postmodernism changed the circumstance of Chinese architects, whose design was dominated by official ideology. Nowadays, they have certain freedom to choose the theory they would like to follow. However, despite squares are no longer designed mainly for political

¹¹ National Day is 1st of October, to memorize the foundation of People's Republic of China; Army Day is 1st of August, to memorize the foundation of Communist Army.

¹² <http://www.archdaily.com/559456/why-china-s-president-says-no-more-weird-buildings/>

movements, they are still under the political shadow. Urban squares are considered as achievements of a mayor's political career, mayors always intervene architects' design based on their personal taste and preference. Sometimes squares are considered as a 'tribute project' for National Day or Army Day¹¹, these kinds of squares would be designed under enormous instructions from the government. As Hassenpflug pointed out: Chinese architects and urban planners have to follow government officer's instruction, even these instructions are not reasonable, but the ordinary daily needs of people are ignored. (As cited in Cai, 2006, P25) Not only government officers favors of making 'guideline for the architects' design', even the president claimed 'No more weird architecture' in a meeting with artists and writers¹². The custom of government officers intervening everything is another residue of Mao's age.

The third and most obvious influence of Mao's age is the generation of 'Square Dance'. If political movements were the uncanniest spectacle in the past, then 'Square Dance' is the most inexplicable activities nowadays. 'Square Dance' has lots of forms, the most common one a large number of women dance in line, with music played over a loudspeaker. Those women have a nicked name 'square dancing auntie'. This peculiar spectacle will be explained in detail in the 5th chapter.

Fig 2-23 Xinghai Square of Dalian, a symmetrical and geometrical square with Chinese elements as decoration Source: detail in figure list



3 Introduction of selected 5 cases

In this paper, 5 squares are chosen as study objects. They were built during the golden age of China's square construction—from 1996 to the first decades of 21st century. Gulou square, Daxinggong Square, and Shanxilu Square are civic square located in urban node and surrounded by important buildings, the shape of these 3 squares and surrounding urban fabric are greatly influenced by 'capital plan' of Republic of China; besides, Gulou square is a space knot since Ming Dynasty; Hanzhongmen square and Xi'anmen Square are squares renovated from historical remainings, meanwhile, they are on a main road across the city from west to east planned in 'Capital Plan'.

3.1 Gulou civic square—a square in an extraordinary location but appears ordinary

General conditions of the square

Gulou civic square was named after one of the landmark building 'Gulou' in this area, literally means drum tower. (Fig 3-1) The drum tower was built in 1382, when Nanjing was the capital of Great Ming Empire, it was used as a ceremonial building used for national and royal events like welcoming ceremony for Princes or Kings, wedding ceremony for empress etc.; it also offered time service by knocking the drum. (Wikipedia, para1)

Gulou Civic Square is also known as 'the enlargement of Gulou Square', the term 'Gulou Square' originally refers to the intersection organizing 5 main roads intersected here. (Fig3-2) The roundabout near Gulou Square was built in 1931 as part of 'Capital Plan', served for transportation and military parade at rear occasions. (Wang, 1998) Until 1996, the municipal government decided to construct a civic square in the east of the roundabout, it was the first civic square appeared in Nanjing's history.

Gulou Civic Square was finished in 1998. By appearance, Gulou Civic Square is quite similar to counterparts could be found in many cities around China. It has common and popular characters many other squares



Fig 3-1 Top: the drum tower Bottom: Bird view of Gulou Square and its surrounding Source: baike.baidu.com

have, for example axis, hemicycle elements along the axis and geometric flowerbed.

The Gulou area has been geographically, politically and economically significant for hundreds of years, with the most elegant office buildings of Nanjing around and 5 main arteries converged here, it is still one of the most prosperous areas of Nanjing today. Unquestionably, Gulou area is an important node in Nanjing. Lynch (1960,p.47) found the node to be one of the elements by which a city is recognized and understood. In short, the node is an important element which gives the city ‘image ability’ or a strong image. However, the outstanding location does not make Gulou civic square as prominent as this area in the city—Gulou area offer the strong image to the city, but this image comes from the landmark of this area-- Zifeng tower and the drum tower. The using condition of this square shows little differences with other squares in Nanjing.



Fig 3-2 4 main roads intersected here, adapted from Map of Nanjing, 2002, Nanjing Institutes of Surveying, Mapping & Geographical Investigation

Diagrams of the square

Fig 3-3 Urban fabric around Gulou Square, adapted from Google map



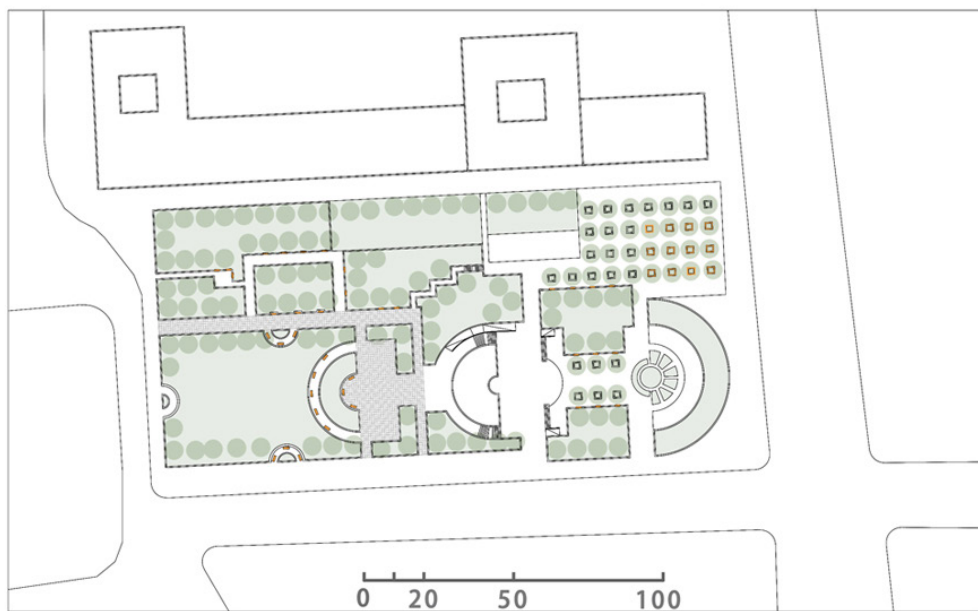
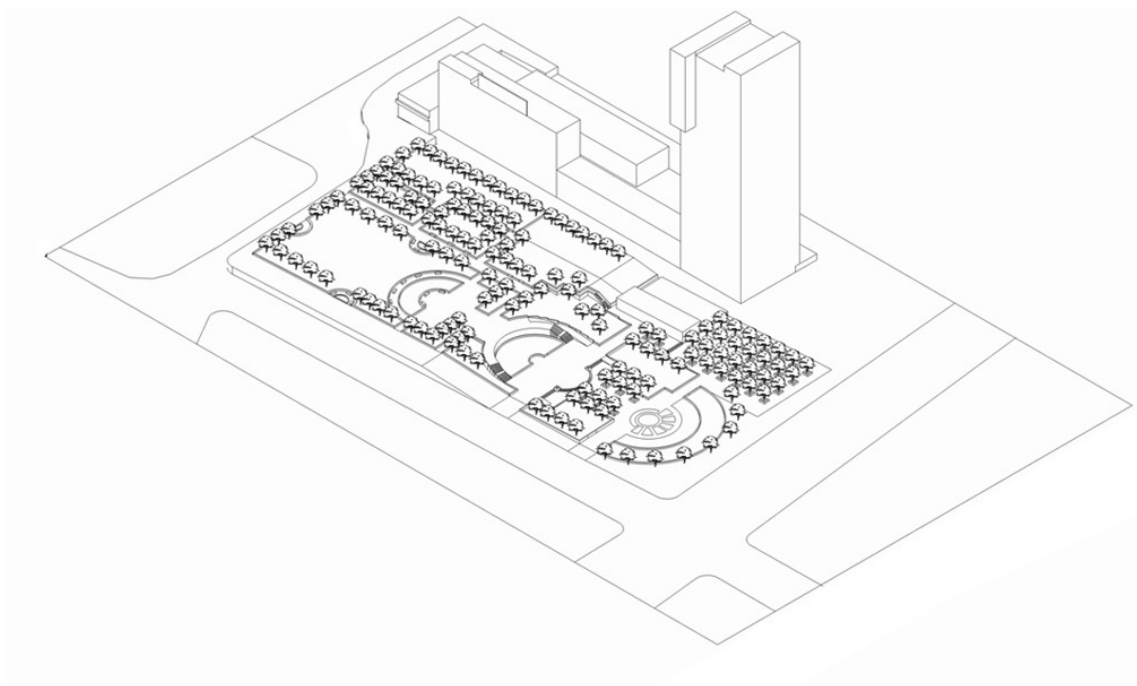


Fig 3-4 Axonometric projection and plan

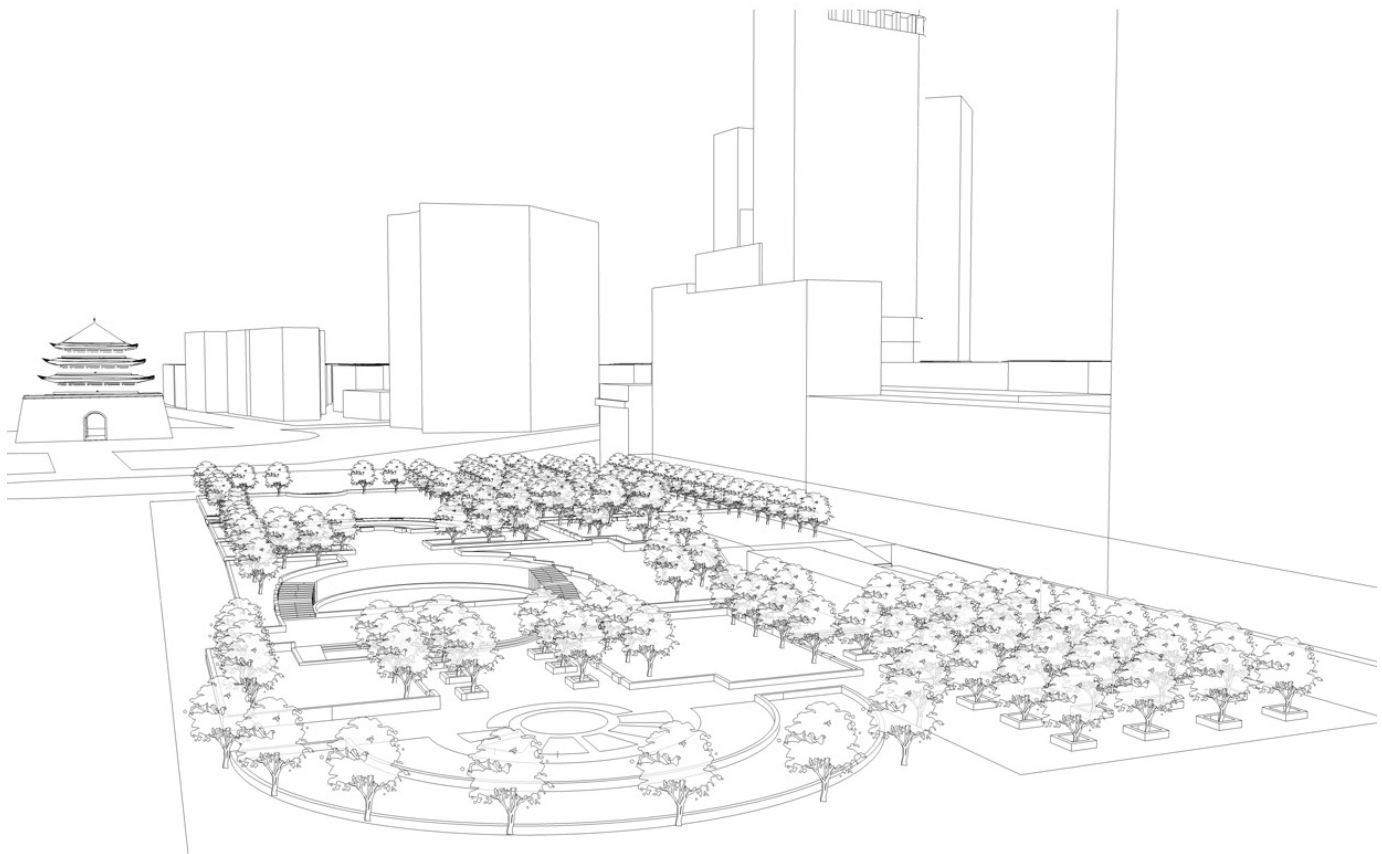


Fig 3-5 Perspective and photos, Perspective draw by author, source of photo: detail in the figure list



Fig 3-6 Surroundings, Source: adapted from multi resources, detail in figure list



Fig 3-7 Seats of the square, photo and drawing by author

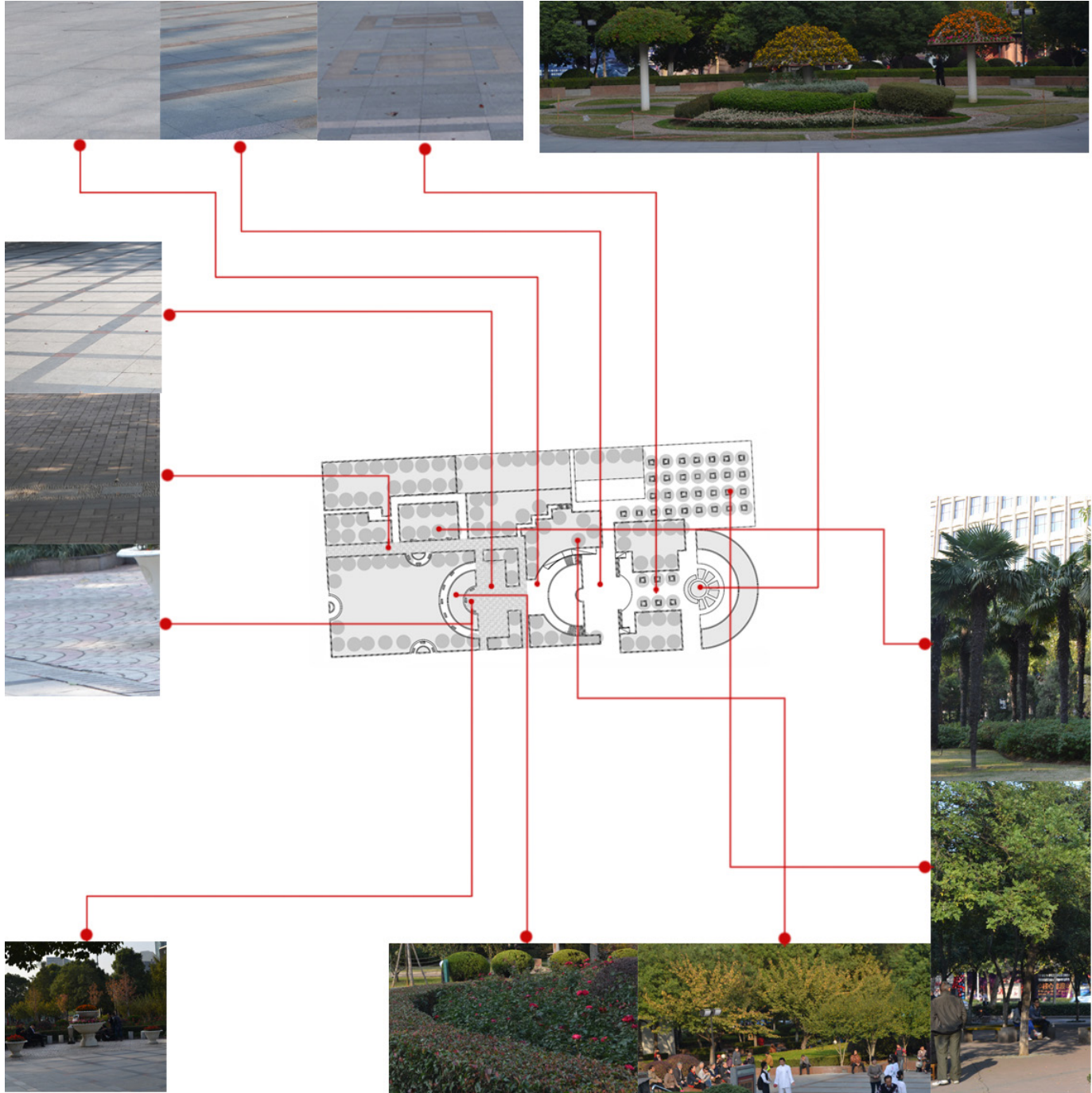


Fig 3-8 Pavements and plants, photo and drawing by author

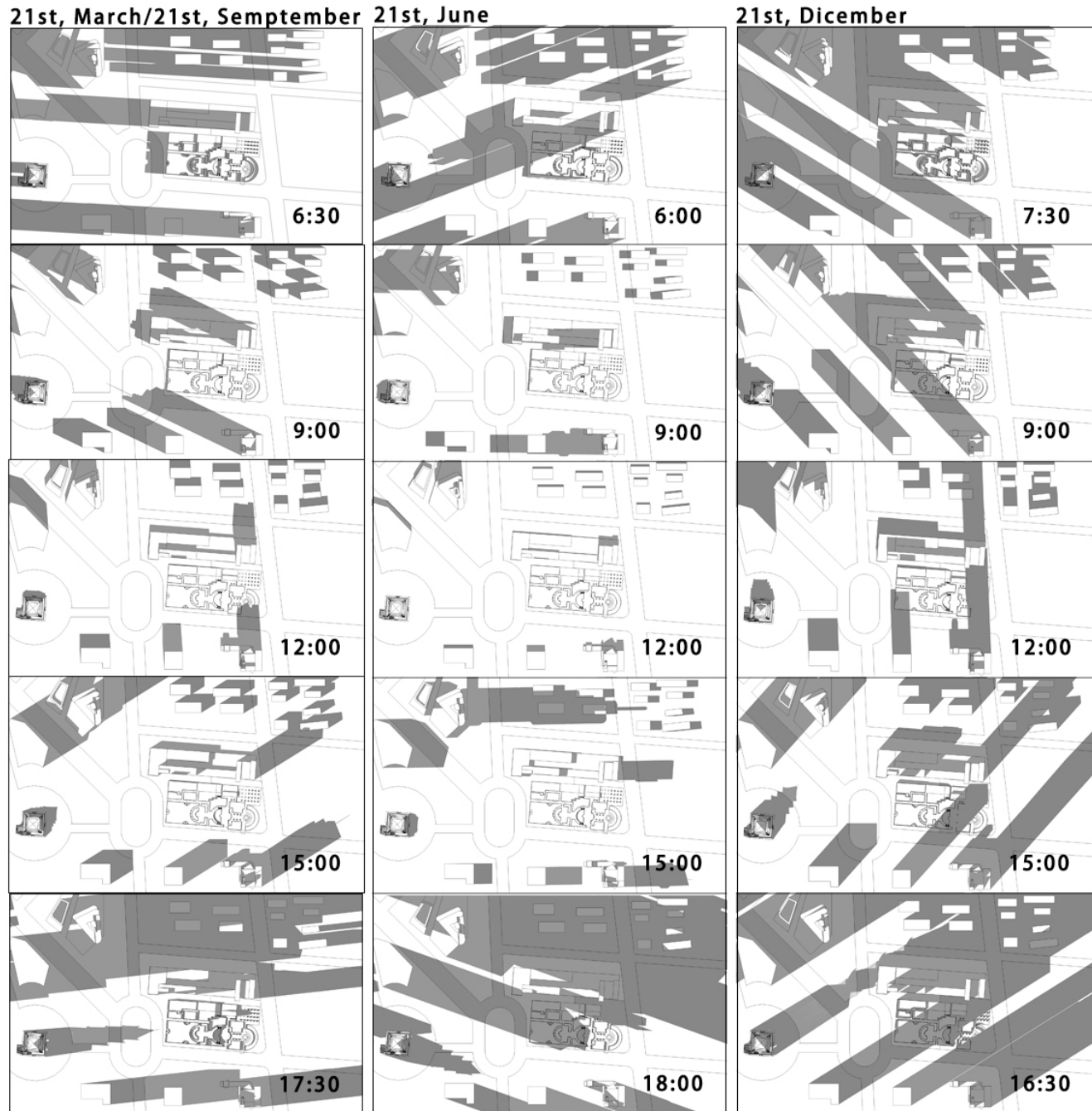


Fig 3-9 Sunshine of different time

3.2 Former military fortification—Hanzhongmen square

General conditions of the square

Hanzhongmen square is a unique square that only could generate in certain circumstance: a partly ruined city gate with Wengcheng. (Fig3-10) Wengcheng is a typical Chinese fortification, it is semicircular enclosure between the outer and inner city gate, to defense enemies in siege warfare. How many Wengcheng a gate has was determined by militarily strategy, in Nanjing, the largest city gate ‘Tongjimen’ has 3 Wengcheng and Hanzhongmen¹³ has 2. The shape of ‘Tongjimen’ is similar to ‘Hanzhongmen’ but with 1 more gate. (Fig3-11)

On the site of Hanzhongmen Square there was the oldest city gate, which was built in 915A.D., and enlarged into an important fort with 2 Wengcheng and 3 gates in the west of Nanjing by 1368 A.D. It survived warfare before 1949 but was damaged in peaceful age. In 1958, for the purpose to reuse the bricks of the city wall, part of the gate and city wall beside it was demolished. When the municipal government decided to renovate it in 1996, only 2 gates and part of Wengcheng was kept. (Wikipedia, 石城门)

Usually, the destinations of city gates in China is totally destroyed or well preserved and renovated for exhibition purpose. Disregard the dispute it might have in heritage preservation, transform a partly ruined historical remain to a square is a quite unusual and bold idea. (Fig3-12)

Different with other squares in Nanjing, Hanzhongmen Square is enclosed by the remaining city wall, it offers a pleasant and quiet space in the noisy environment, although the enclosed feeling is a little weak-- the proportion of height to breadth is 1:5.7 for the east side and 1:4 for the west side, that means the vision angle is around 9° for the east side and 13° for the west side; (Fig3-13) by Hegemann and Peets, below the threshold of 18° the object loses predominance in the field of vision, object beyond the space are perceive and the square loses its enclosed feeling (as cited in Moughtin, 1992/2003, p100). But the size of this square is pleasant, for



Aerial photo in 1929



photo of the gate in 1931

Fig 3-10 the gate and wengcheng before ruined, Source: Left, Aircraft Squadrons of United States, 1929, map of Nanjing, Washington, D.C.: Aircraft Squadrons, retrieved from Library of Congress Right, 国都设计技术专员办事处, 1930,首都计划, p80

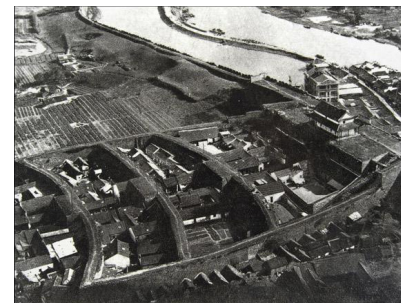


Fig 3-11 Tongjimen, a ruin gate has similar shape with Hanximen, Source: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/1019929.htm>

¹³ There are 2 names for the gate in Hanzhongmen (汉 中 门) Square, one is Hanximen(汉 西 门), another is Shichengmen (石 城 门) . But Hanzhongmen Square was named after none of them, its name comes from a ruined gate nearby.

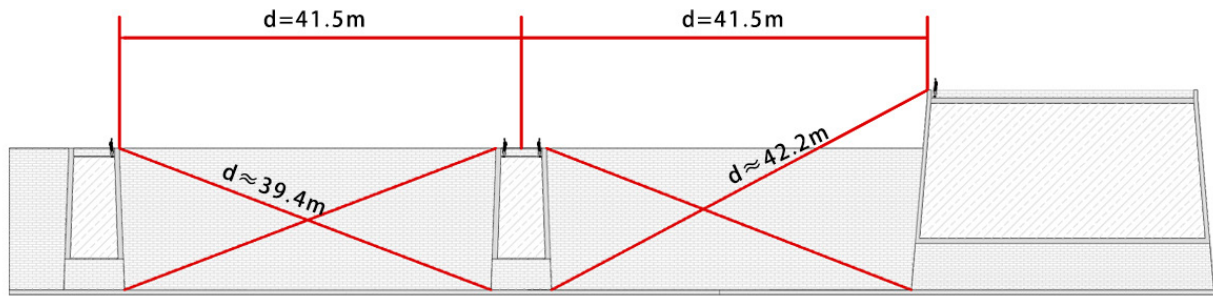
Sitte (1965), a maximum size of a square is 135m since it is the upper limit where body gestures can be distinguished. Although most of Chinese squares are too big by Sitte's standard, Hanzhongmen Square have a fit size of 121.4m*81m for the inside part, 121.4m*122.6m plus the outside part.

However, the pleasant scale of Hanzhongmen Square is not designed by architects in 1996 but has been determined 647 years ago—for a former fortification, the height of gate and wall, the distance between outside wall and inside wall are fatal problems in warfare. Firstly designers in Ming dynasty must consider the range of bow and blunderbuss—around 50m-70m for ordinary soldiers. (Han,2009) (Fig3-13) Secondly, if the distance between outside wall and inside wall is too large, warriors fighting in the front cannot recognize signs from commanders in the rear.

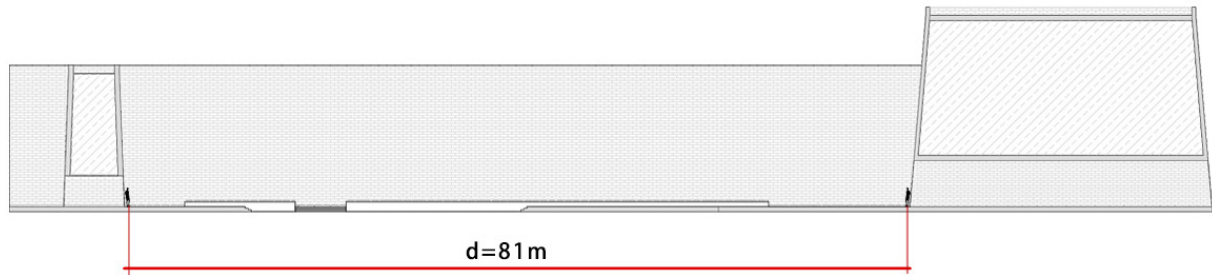
Similar with Gulou square, Hanzhongmen Square is a 'sitable' space, there are varies of seats to satisfy different needs. Besides, for the most popular square activities—square dance and walk, people could also find a suitable place here. Hanzhongmen square is very popular even in area 4km away, it has highest user density among 5 cases, although it has the most disadvantageous location among its counterparts. (Detail in chapter 4)



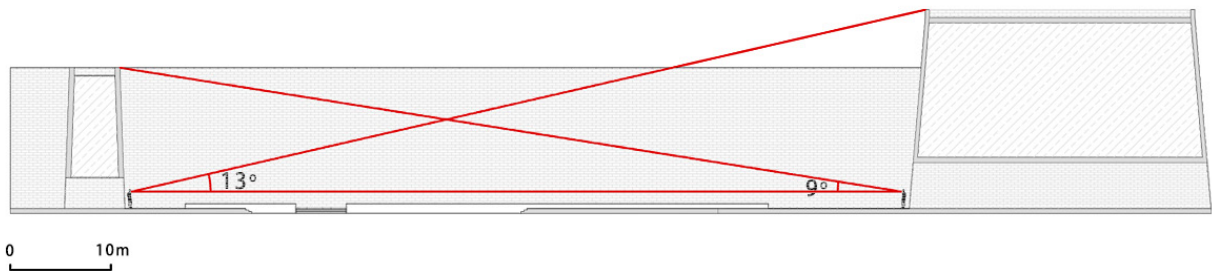
Fig 3-12 Bird view of Hanzhongmen Square, Source: <http://baike.baidu.com/subview/2528956/2528956.htm>



The ruined fortification: the original size of it is consideration of effective range of weapon, audition and vision.



The square today: one stand in the east side could recognize another's expression and gesture who stand in the west side.

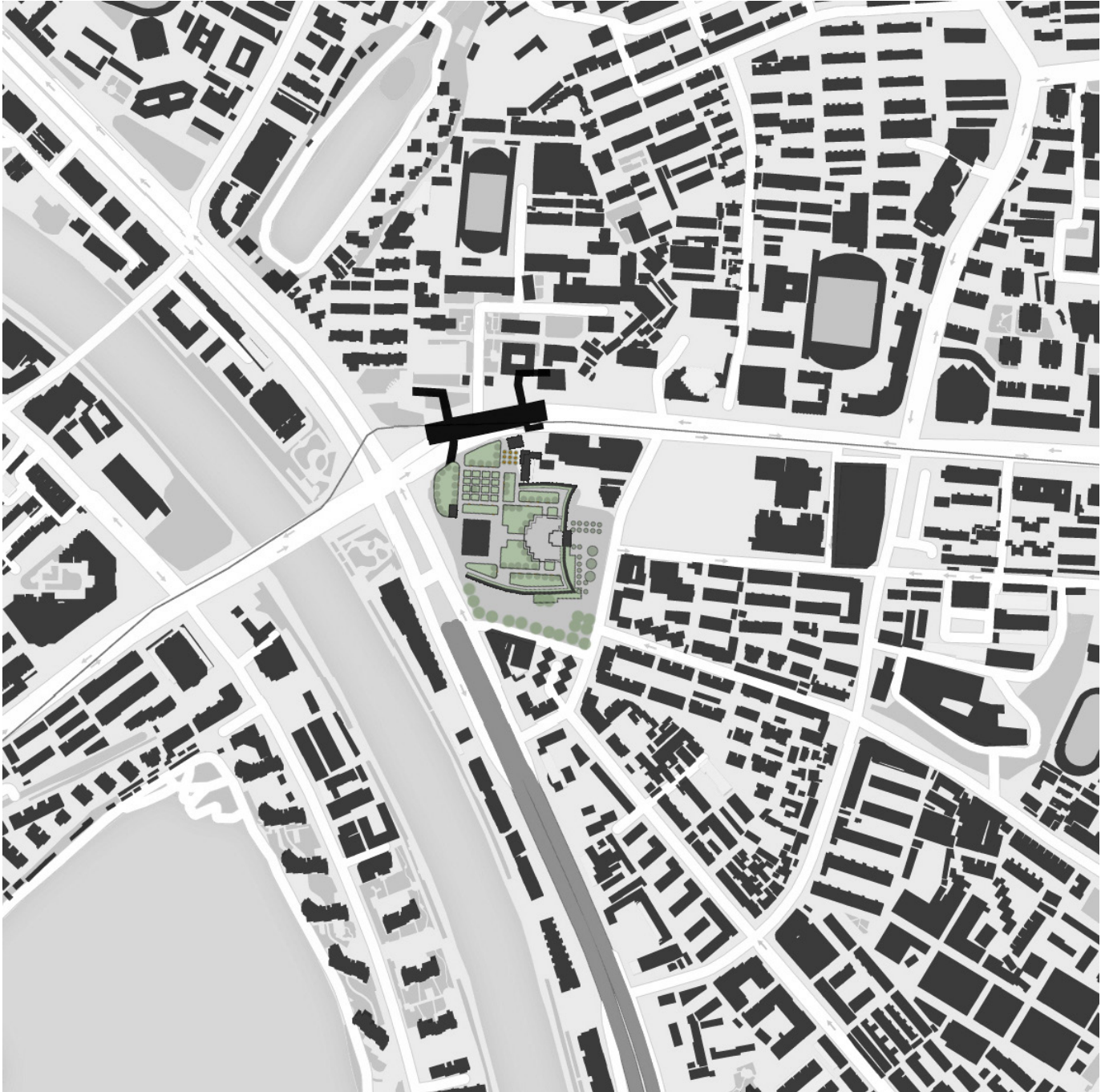


The square today: it is a rare enclosed square but have weak enclosure

Fig 3-13 section of Hanzhongmen Square

Diagrams of the square

Fig 3-14 Urban fabric around the square, adapted from Google map



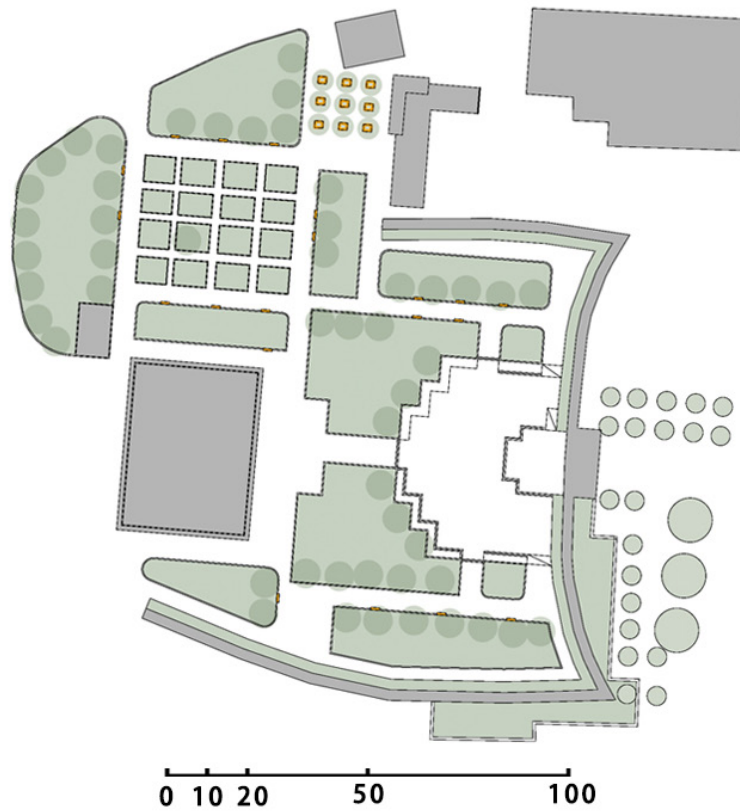
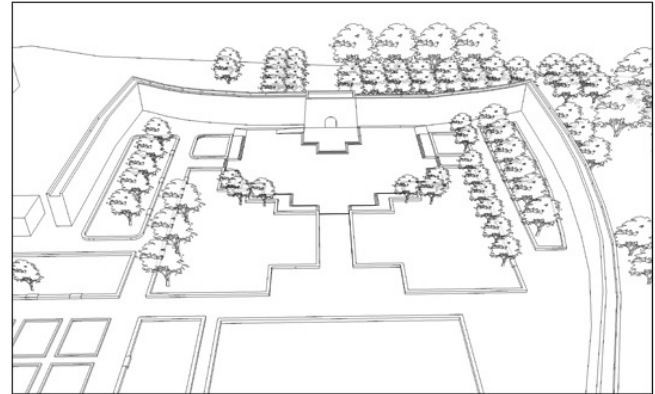
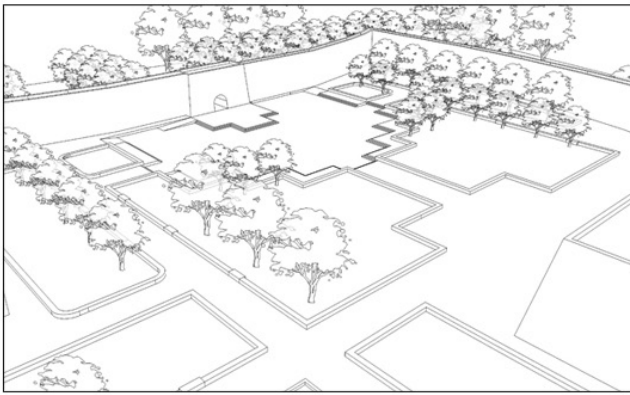


Fig 3-15 Perspectives and plan

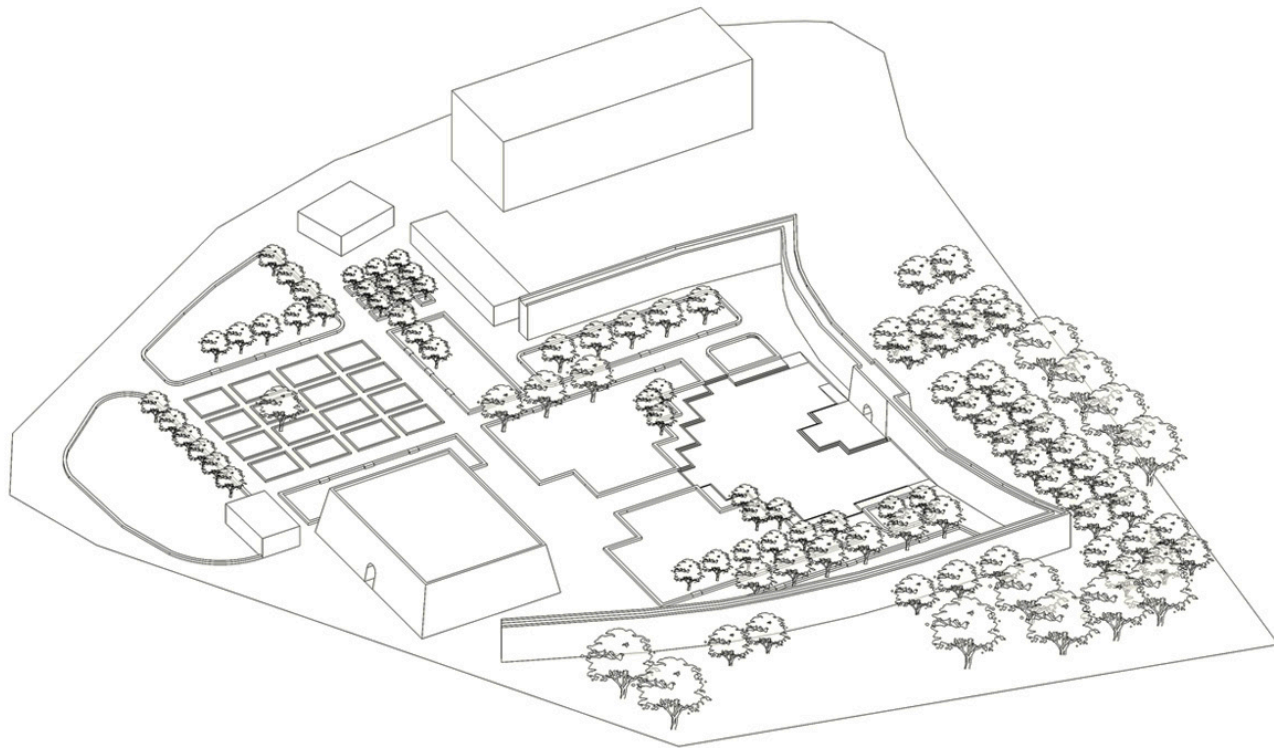


Fig 3-16 Axiomatic projection and photos



Fig 3-17 Surroundings, adapted from multi resources, detail in figure list

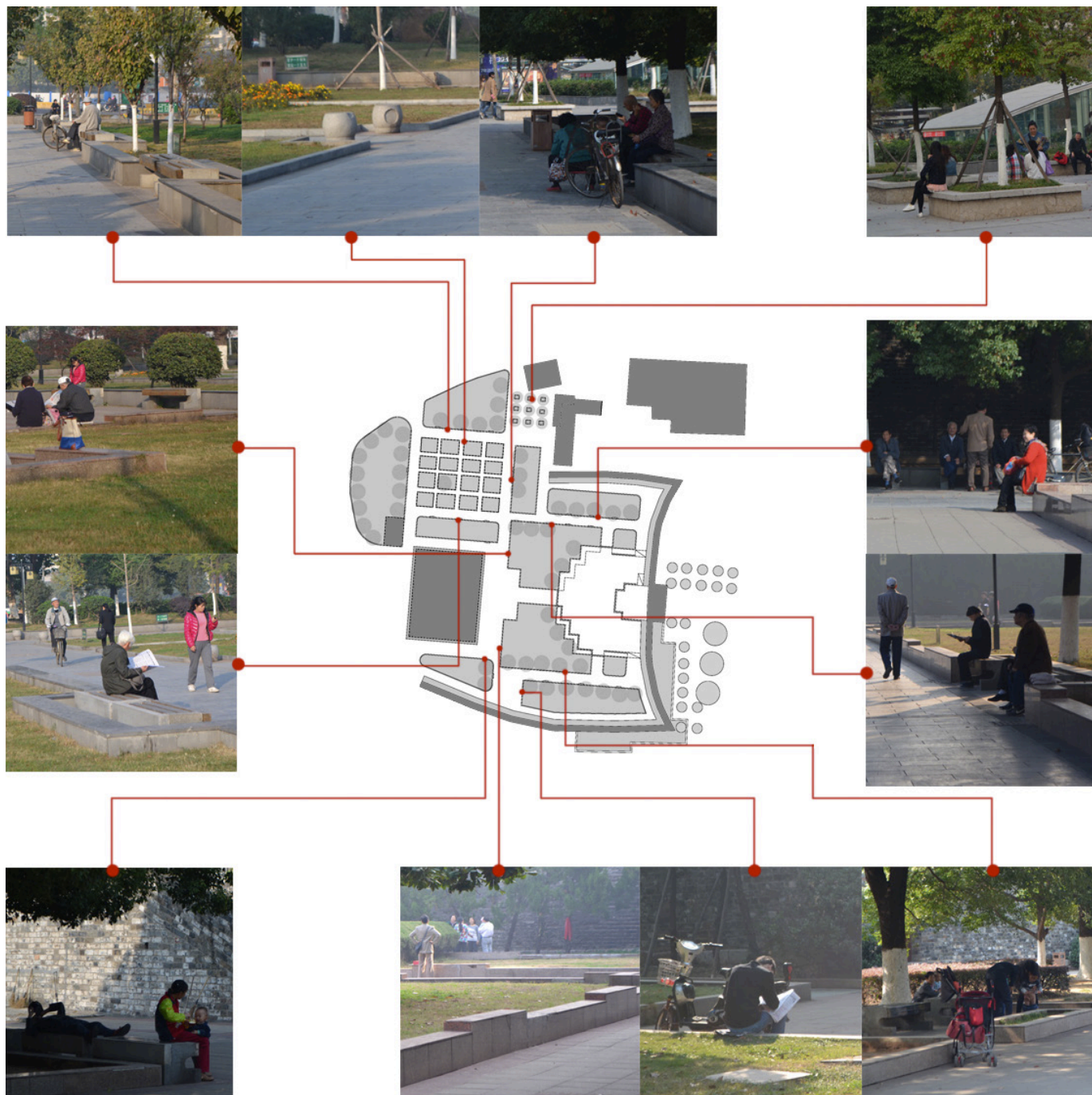


Fig 3-18 Seats

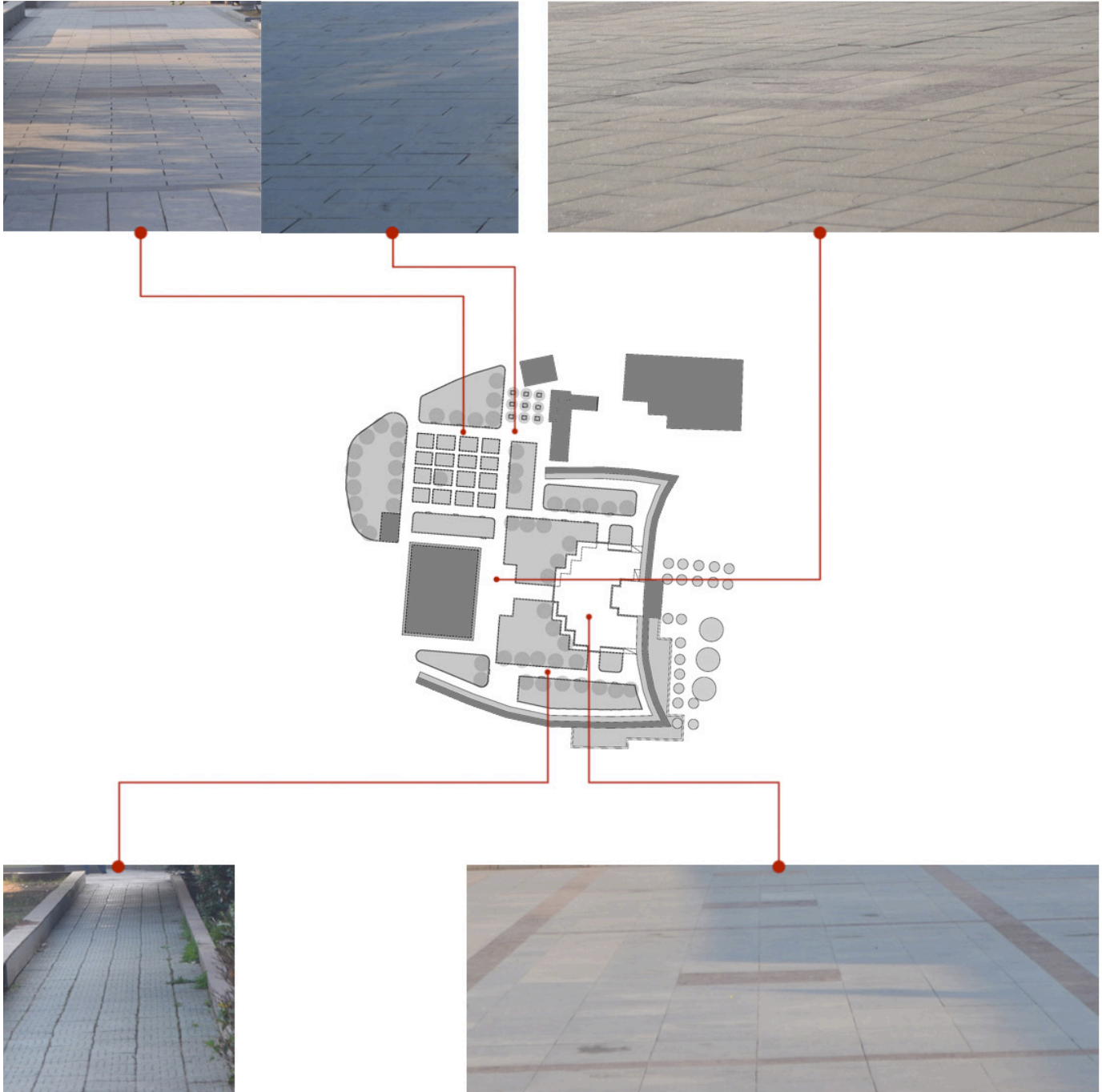


Fig 3-19 Pavements

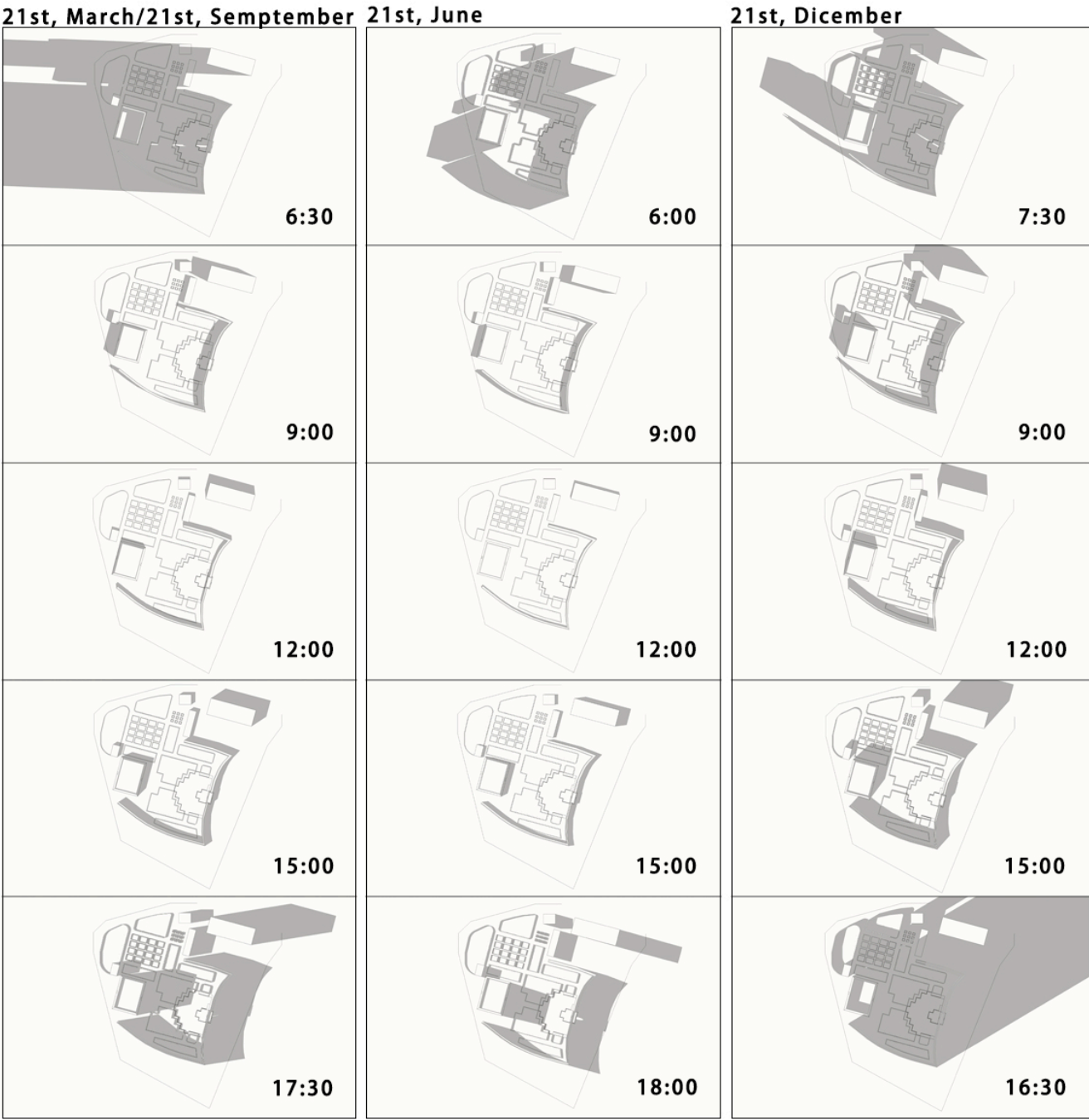


Fig 3-20 Sunshine of different times

3.3 Xi'anmen Square—from the gate of royal palace to public square

General conditions of the square

Xi'anmen Square was named after the remaining gate 'Xi'anmen', it was the west gate of the royal palace of Ming Dynasty¹⁴, literally means the safe western gate. (Fig3-21) It is a rectangle square around this remaining gate aims to exhibit it. Paul Zucker (1966) use to classify square into 5 categories: the closed square, the dominated square, the nuclear square, grouped square and amorphous square. By this classification, this square belongs to nuclear square that is formed around a center. (Fig3-22)

¹⁴The royal palace of Ming dynasty was finished in 1392, it was inadequately protected and maintained after the royal court decided to move to Beijing in 1406. Only quite a few parts remain today.

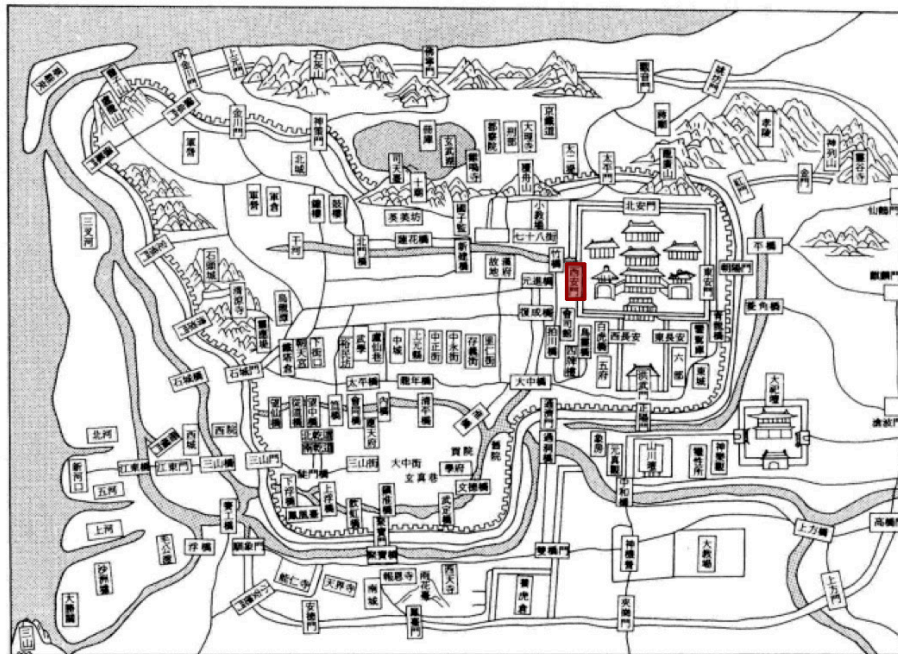


Fig 3-21 Map of Nanjing draw in Ming dynasty, 'Xi'anmen' is the west gate of royal palace. Source: 薛凤旋,2009,中国城市及其文明的演变, 香港: 三联书店, p220

Along the axis of the gate there is a sinking square, this elevation of 105cm is caused by archaeological excavation—the surface of city has been elevated after 611years, therefore pedestal of the gate was buried underground until 2003 when the municipal government of Nanjing decided to renovate it, when it was used as a warehouse. (Fig 3-23) the shape of the sinking square roughly shows the royal road across the gate and



Fig 3-23 Left: Xianmen used to be used as warehouse for years Right: the gate in excavation. Source: <http://baike.baidu.com/subview/2941203/2941203.htm>



Fig 3-24 the planning shopping mall in the south of Xi'anmen Square Source: Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau

leading into the royal palace. (Yang, Personal Communication, October 17, 2015) (Fig3-23)

Nowadays, the land in the south of Xi'anmen Square is a void place (Fig3-25), but Aviation Industry Corporation of China invested a shopping mall of 189,000m² adjacent to the south edge of Xi'anmen Square, there is the possibility that the using condition of this square will be influenced in the future. (Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2015) (Fig3-24)

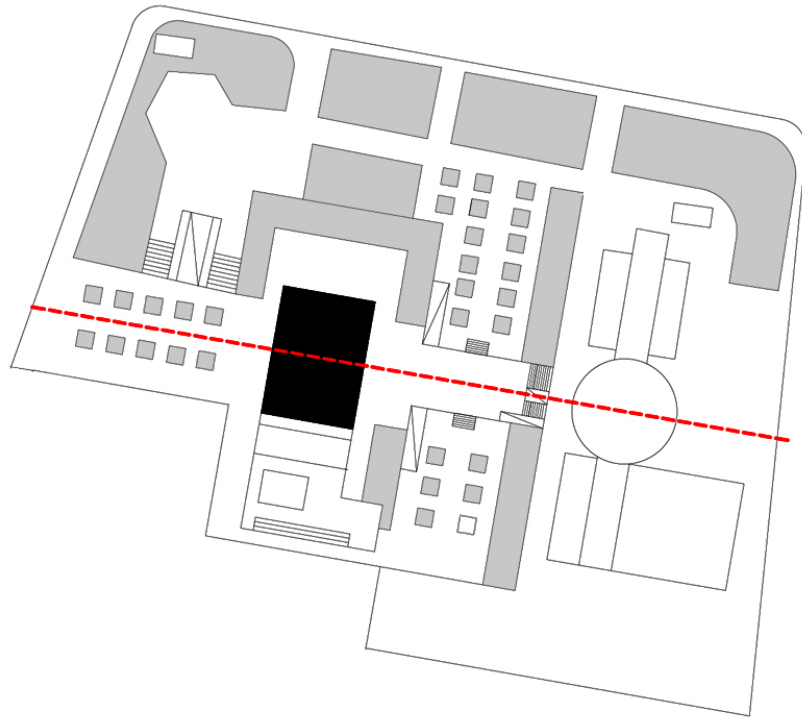


Fig 3-22 The nuclear square

Diagrams of the square

Fig 3-25 Urban fabric around the square, adapted from Google map



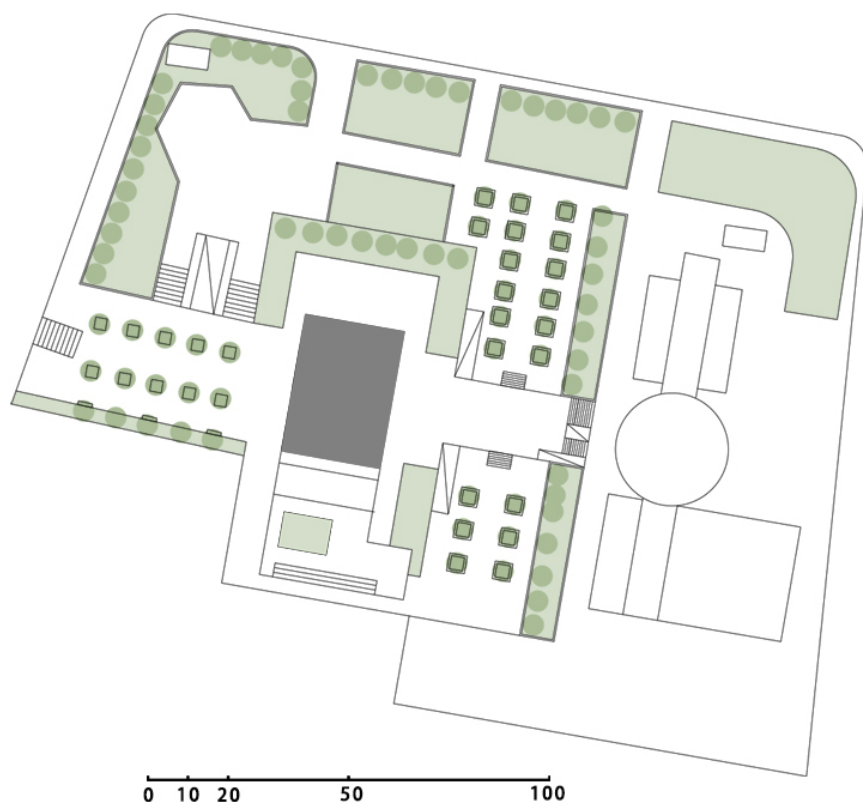


Fig 3-26 Plan and perspectives

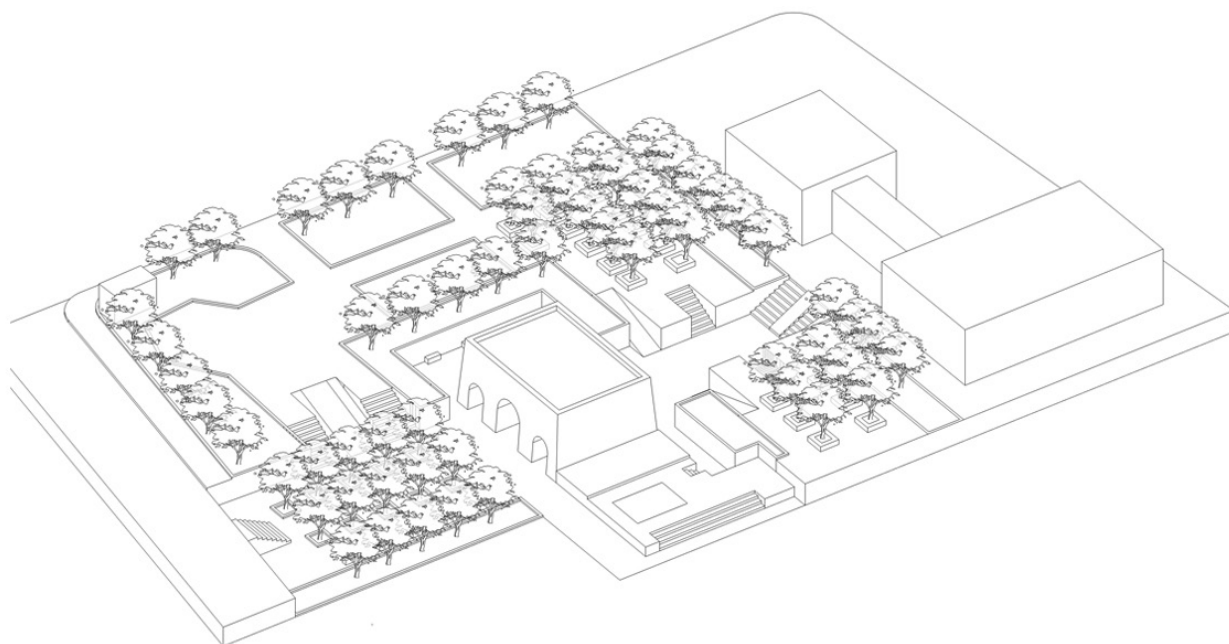


Fig 3-27 Axiomatic drawing and photos



Fig 3-28 Surroundings, adapted from multi resources, detail in figure list

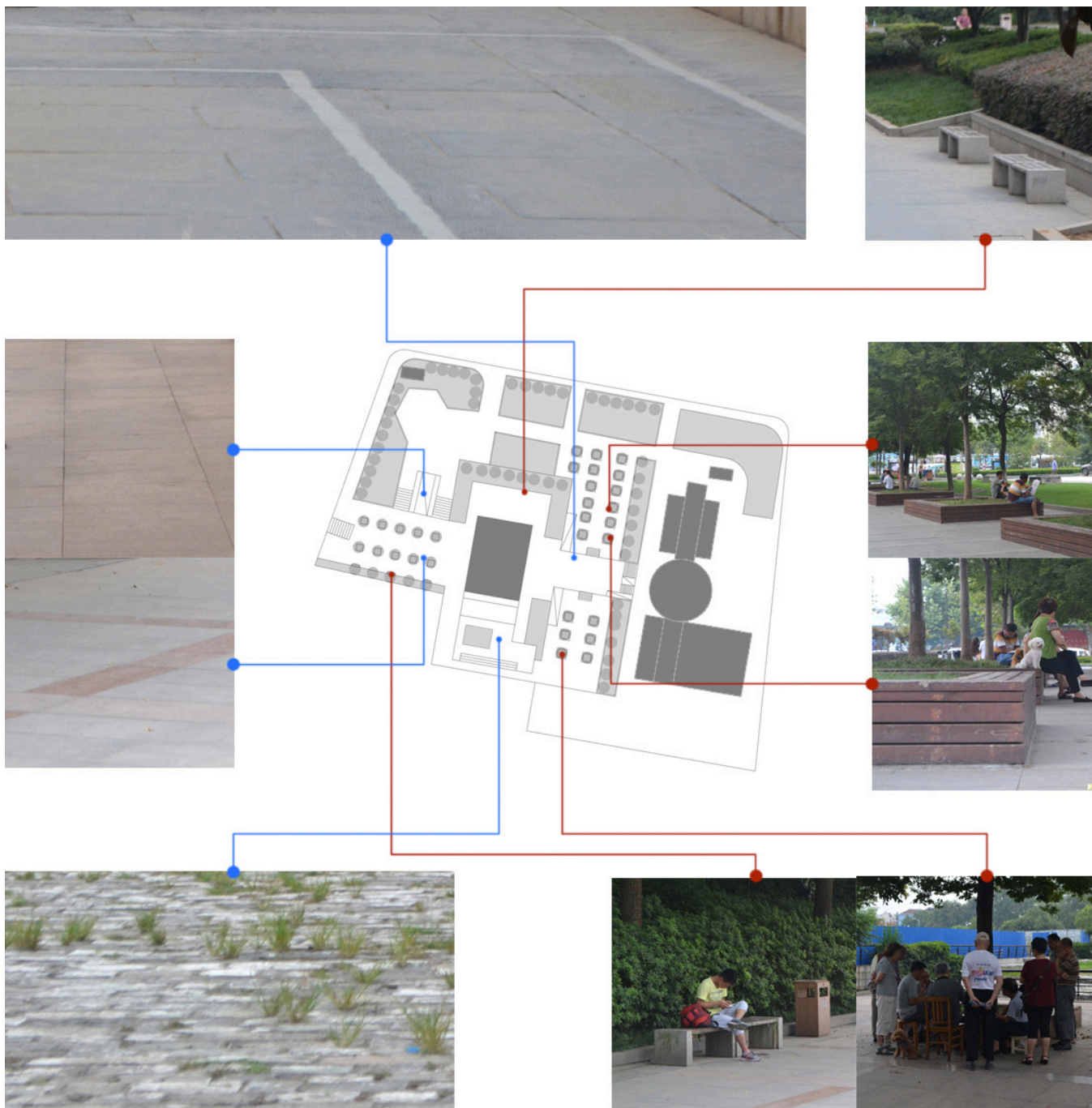


Fig 3-29 Seats and pavements

21st, March/21st, September

21st, June

21st, December

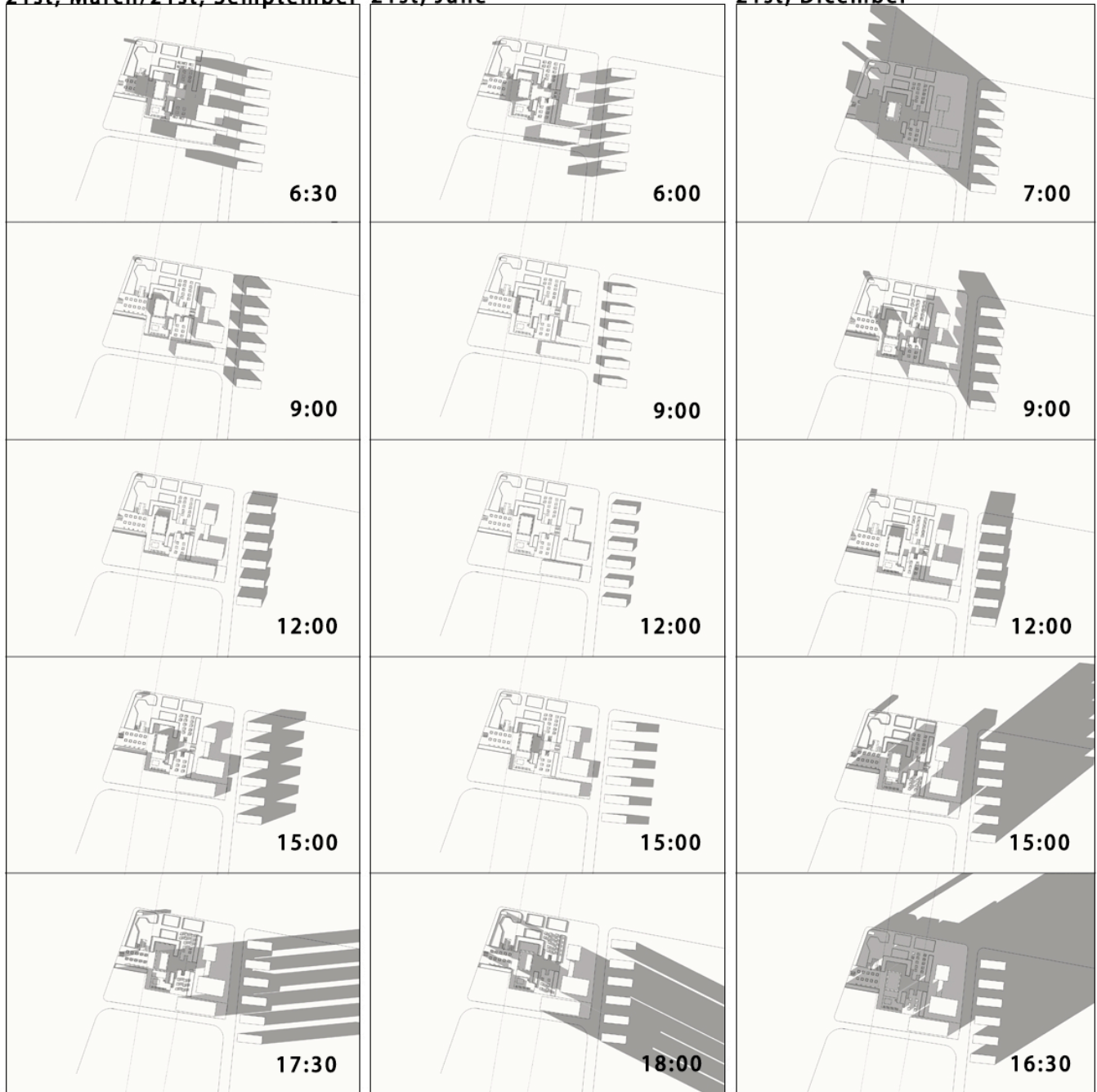


Fig 3-30 Sunshine of different time

3. 4 Daxinggong Square—a square surrounded by important public buildings

General conditions of the square

Daxinggong Square literally means the ‘itinerant palace’. This area used to be the governor’s house in Qing Dynasty (1644-1912), emperor Kangxi (1654-1722) and his grandson emperor Qianlong (1711-1799) used the governor’s house as temporary palace when they went to Nanjing for inspection tours, this area was given the name of ‘itinerant palace’ ever since. (Wikipedia, 大行宫, para2)

Daxinggong area was regional or national political center on many occasions: the Governor’s House in Qing Dynasty, the Heavenly King’s palace of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1851-1864) and the President’s House in the Republic of China (1912-1949). (Wikipedia, 大行宫, para2) Today, the president house has been transformed into a museum, meanwhile, the municipal library (2002—2006) and provincial gallery (2006—2009) were built in the vicinity, Daxinggong area has become the cultural center of Nanjing with adjacent CBD area. (Fig3-31)

Daxinggong Square project was initiated 2003 and finished by 2005, designed by Professor Yang Donghui of Southeast University. As Professor Yang’s consideration, the main purpose of this square is to create enough distance to appreciate the Municipal Library and the president house, meanwhile, it also offers tourists place to take short rest. (Yang, D., Personal Communication, October17, 2015) However, the purpose of ‘enough distance to appreciate the building’ means large void area with no obstacle for the sight, this may cause inadequate of seats that could keep people stay. Nowadays, this condition has been improved a little bit with adding several benches with sun shelter to the square.

Daxinggong square is surrounded by buildings but adjacent to roads, therefore, there is no direct relationship between square and buildings. It has excellent accessibility: 4 bus stops with 14lines, metro station with line2 and line3



Fig 3-31 Bird views of Daxinggong Square Source:

Top, <http://www.4000635369.com/feil-iutupian/%E5%8D%97%E4%BA%AC%E5%9B%BE%E4%B9%A6%E9%A6%86.html>

Bottom, <http://bbs.house365.com/show-thread.php?threadid=2569698>

Diagrams of the square

Fig 3-32 Urban fabric of the square, adapted from Google map



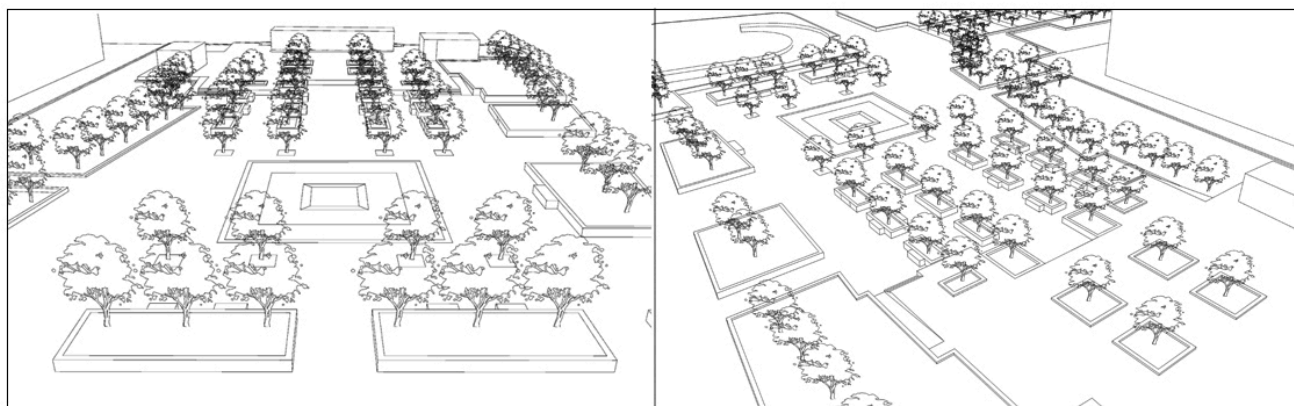
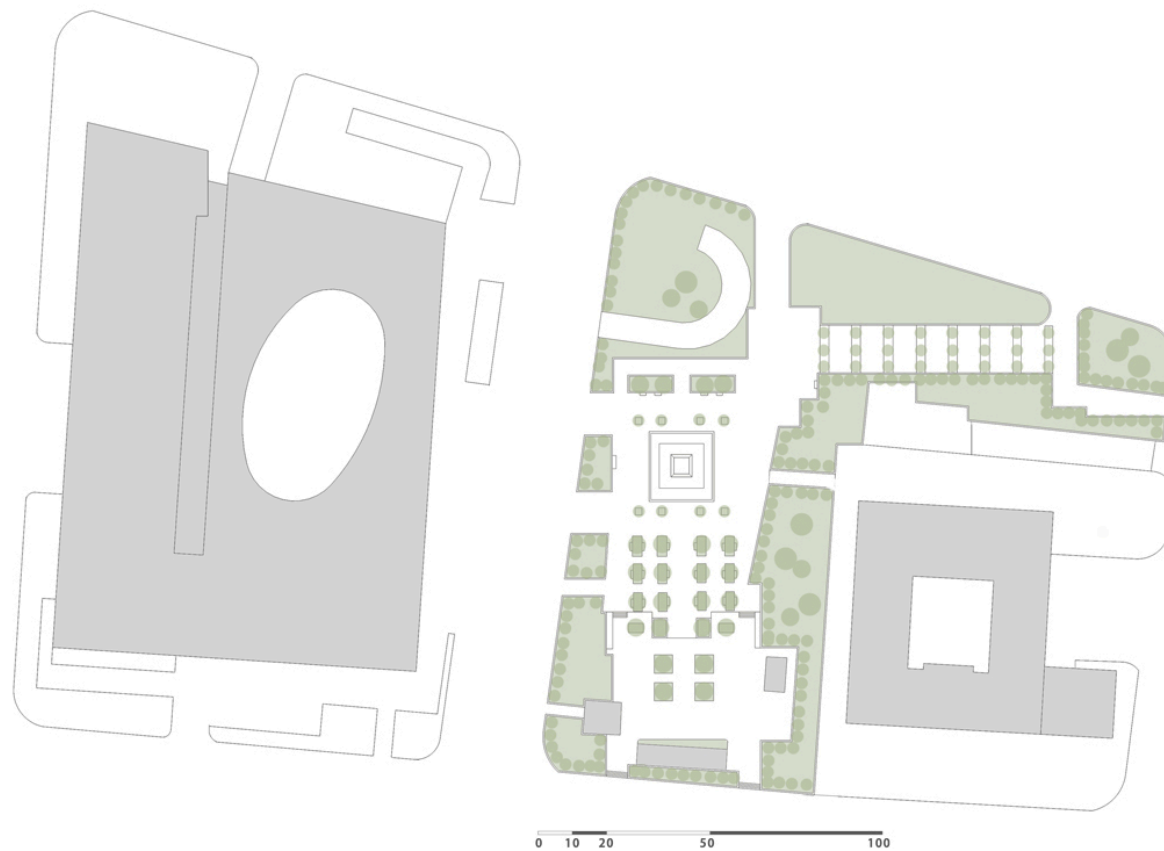


Fig 3-33 Plan and perspective

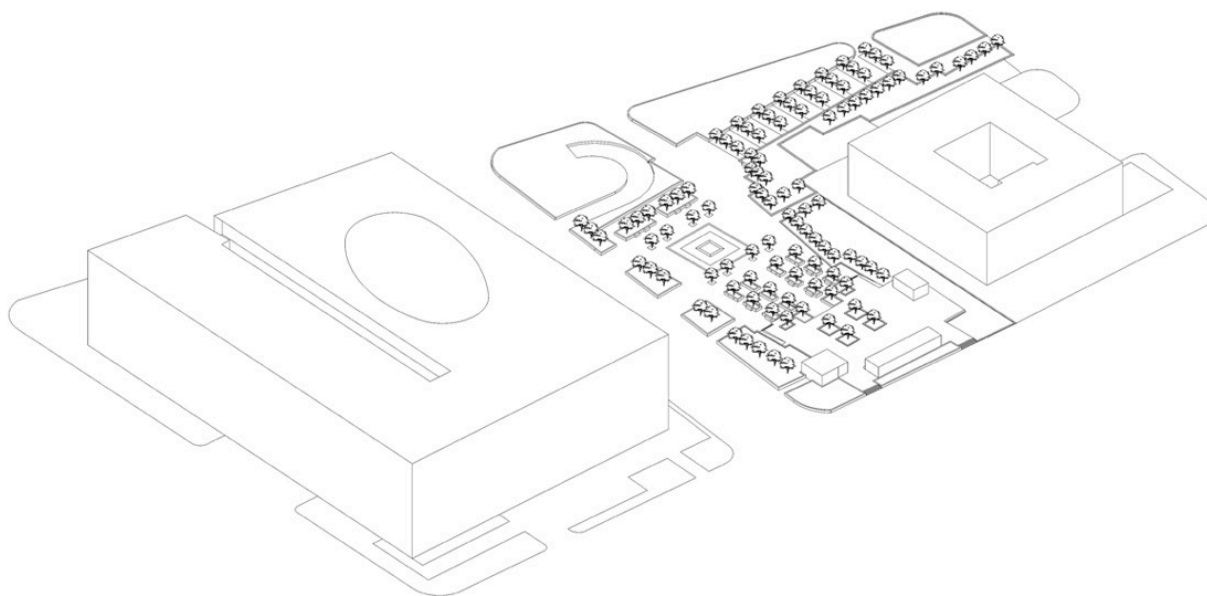


Fig 3-34 Axiomatic projection and photos

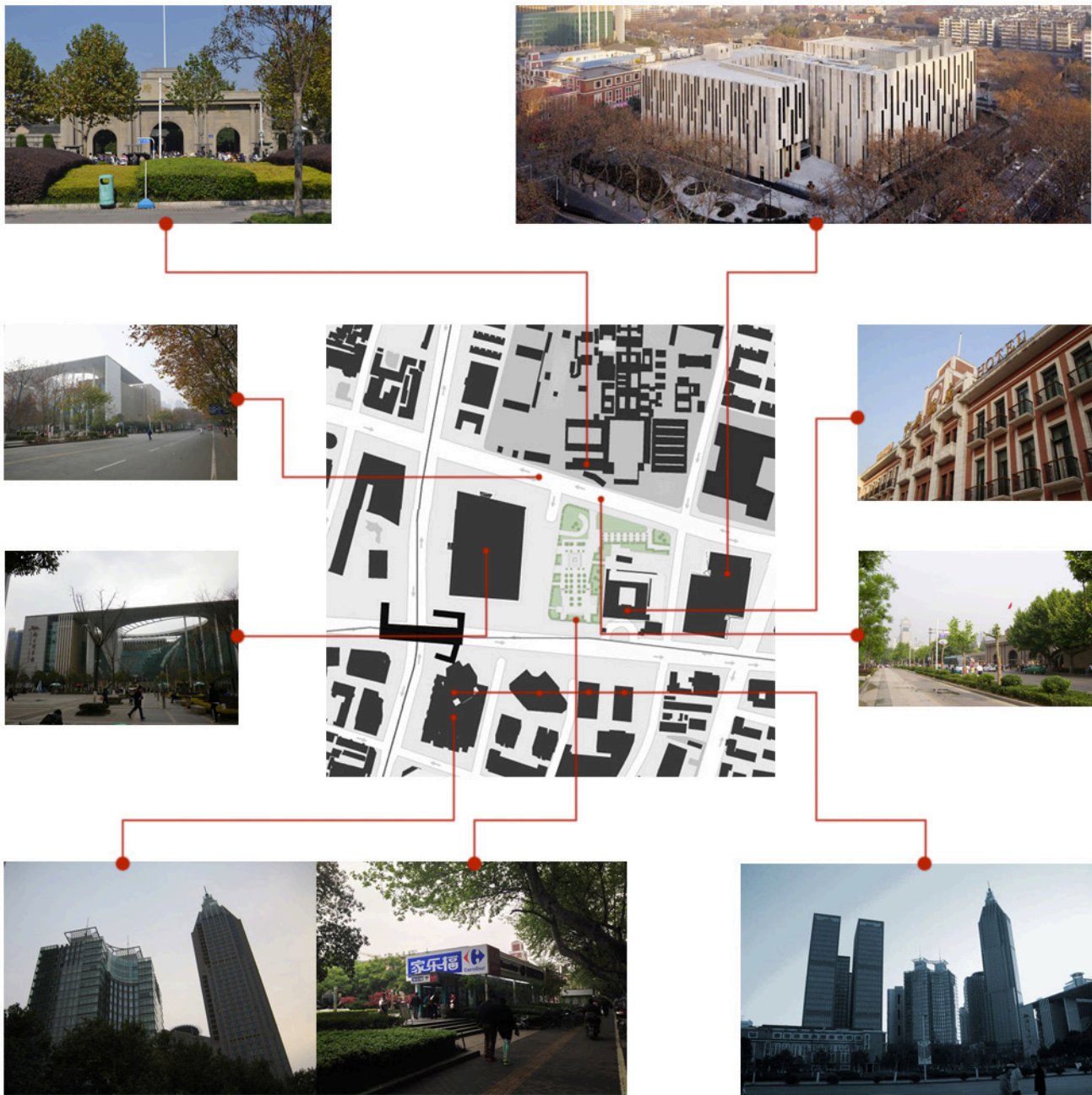


Fig 3-35 Surroundings, adapted from multi resources, detail in figure list

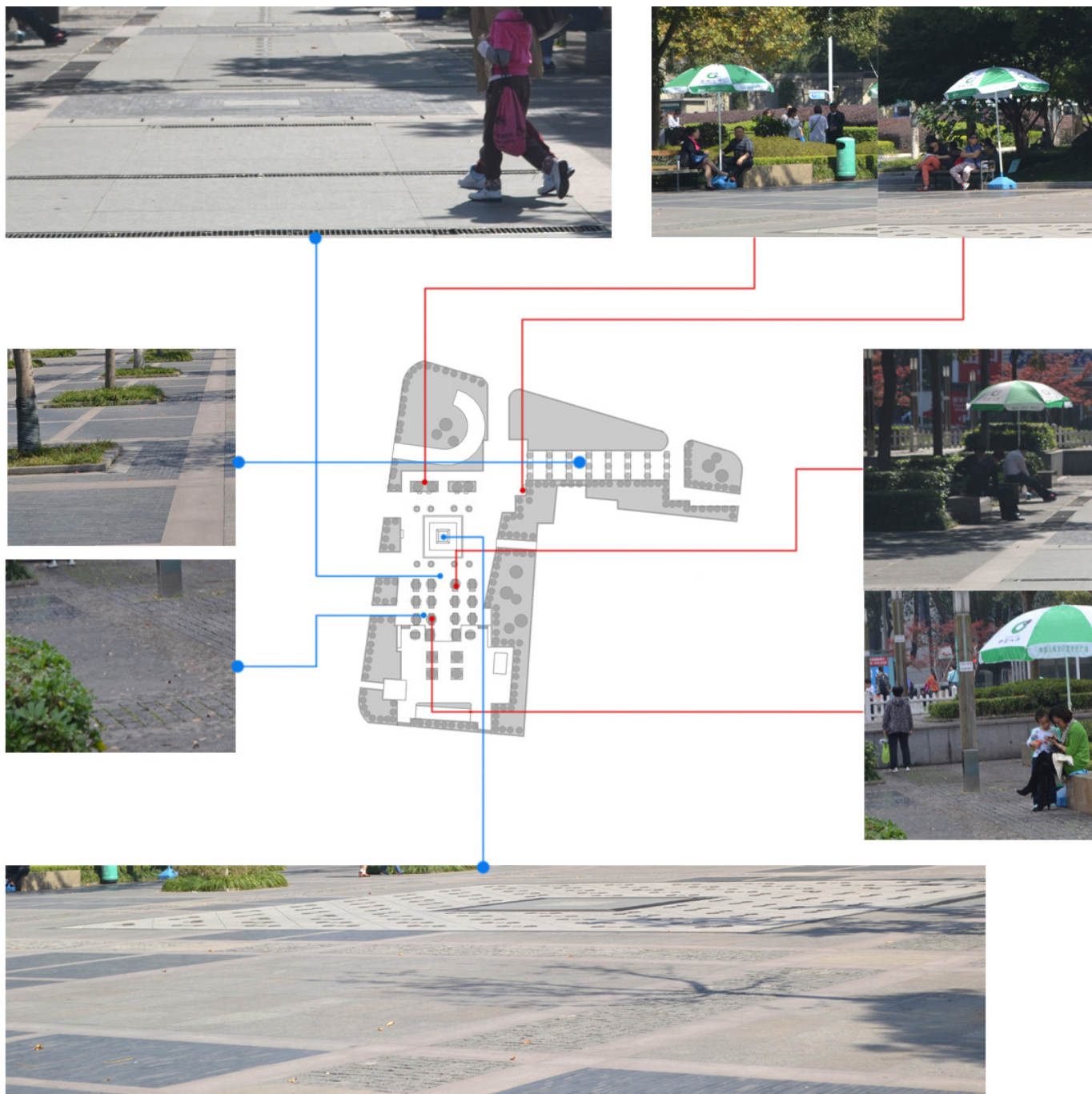


Fig 3-36 Pavements and seats

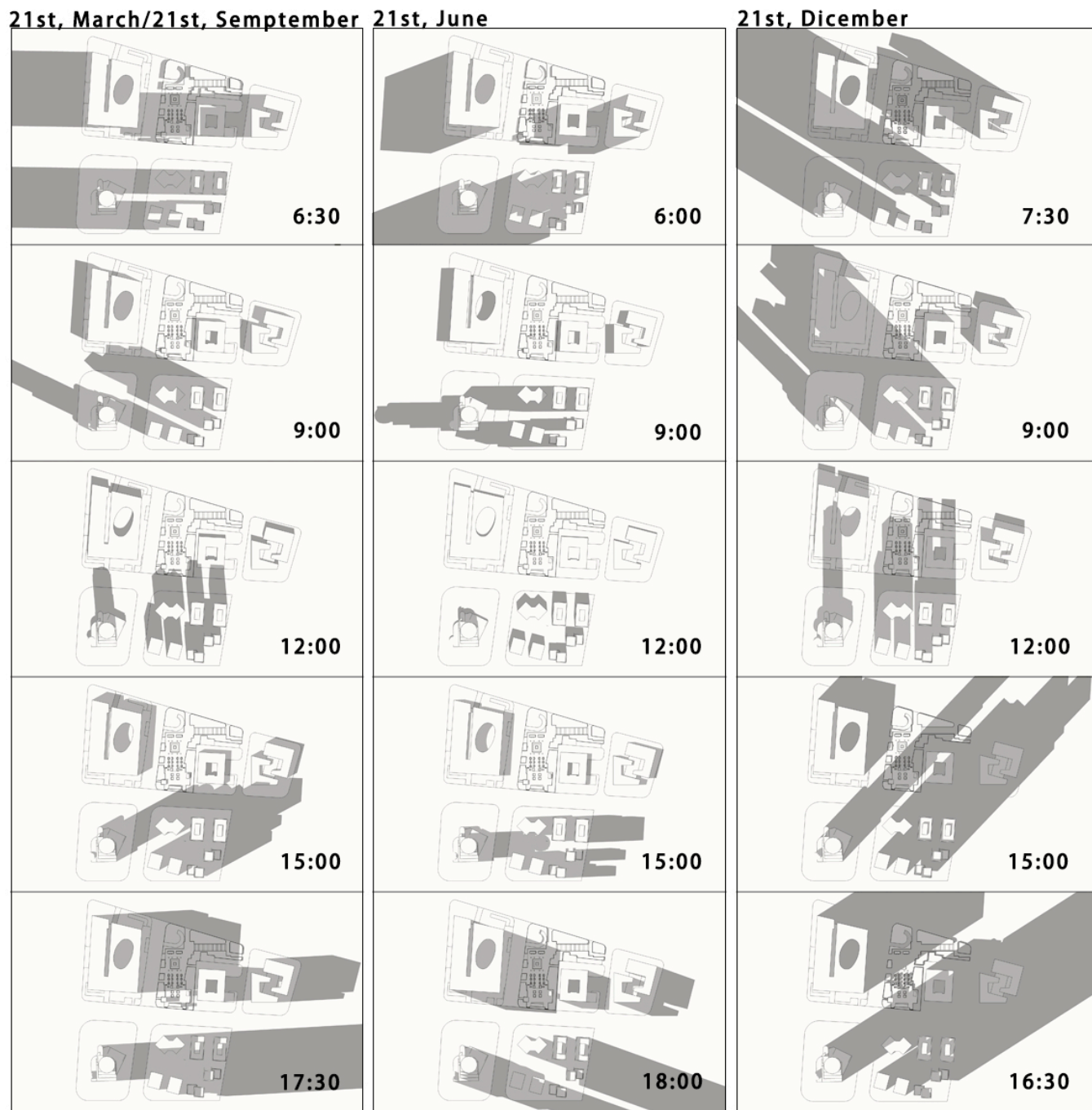


Fig 3-37 sunshine of different times

3.5 Shanxilu Square—a large square will be enlarged

General conditions of the square

¹⁵Wanghui use the word ‘现代’, which is usually translated to the word ‘Modern’. But in China, in many papers and books, when the author refers to ‘Modern’, he doesn’t mean to express modernism but the antonym of tradition.

Shanxilu Square is named after a road aside it. Its location is one of the space knot planned in ‘Capital Plan’. (Zhou Yue, 2011) Today it is aside the crossroad of the main city road --Zhongshan Road and the commercial road --Hunan Road. There are 2 buildings inside it: the Youth Theater and Children’s Palace of Nanjing (Fig3-38). In Wang Hui’s point of view, this square is a combination of Chinese garden and ‘Modern’ ¹⁵Square. (2012)

This is a bizarre square in many ways: for the first, it is considered as 5.7 hectares in one paper (Wang H., et al., 2012) but 9.0 hectares in another (Hua Jianming, 2011); for the second, there was a park called Xiliuwan Park, which named after a small lake ‘Xiliuwan’, and this park together with the square newly built in 2000 are called Shanxilu Square by academic paper as well as media today, but by documents from Urban Plan Bureau of Nanjing, Xiliuwan Park and Shanxilu Square is separated; (- Fig3-39) for the third, the number of 5.7 hectares includes the park, the square part is around 3.0 hectare, it has been a huge square but by a new urban plan passed on 16th of Feb, 2016, it will be renovated and enlarged in 3 years; and the forth, it has been partly demolished since 2015, 14 years after its inauguration. (Fig3-40,41)



Fig 3-38 Birdvirew of Shanxilu Square 2004, source: http://www.huangshan-tour.com/gallery/display_cn.asp?id=865

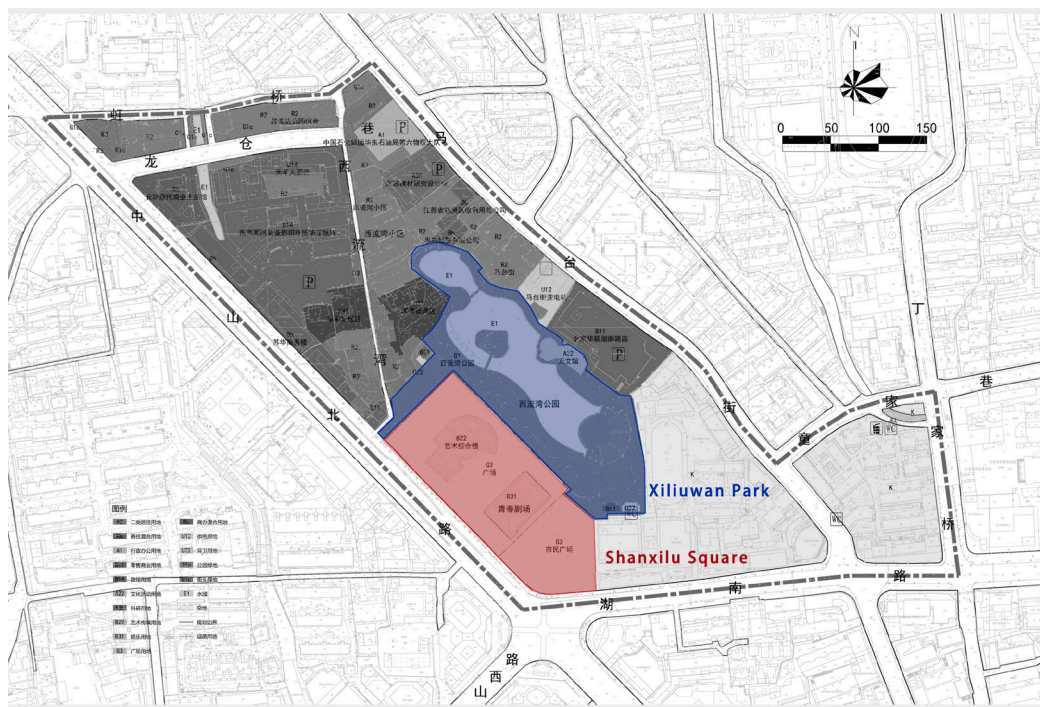


Fig 3-39 Xiliuwan park and Shanxilu square, Source: Urban Plan Bureau of Nanjing



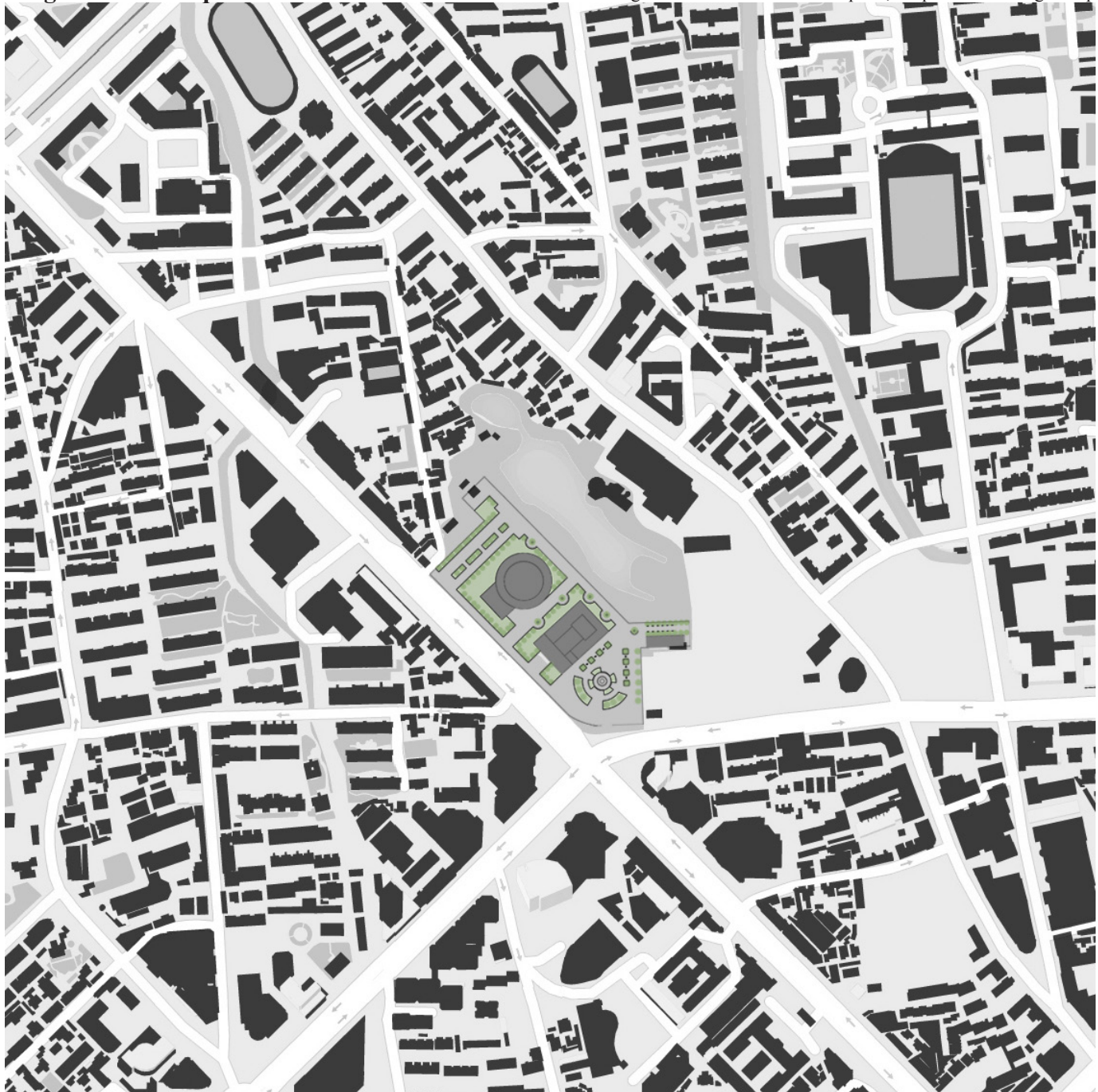
Fig 3-40 The new urban plan to renovate and enlarge the square, Source: Urban Plan Bureau of Nanjing



Fig 3-41 the changing square,
adapted from google map

Diagrams of the square

Fig 3-42 Urban fabric of the square, adapted from Google map



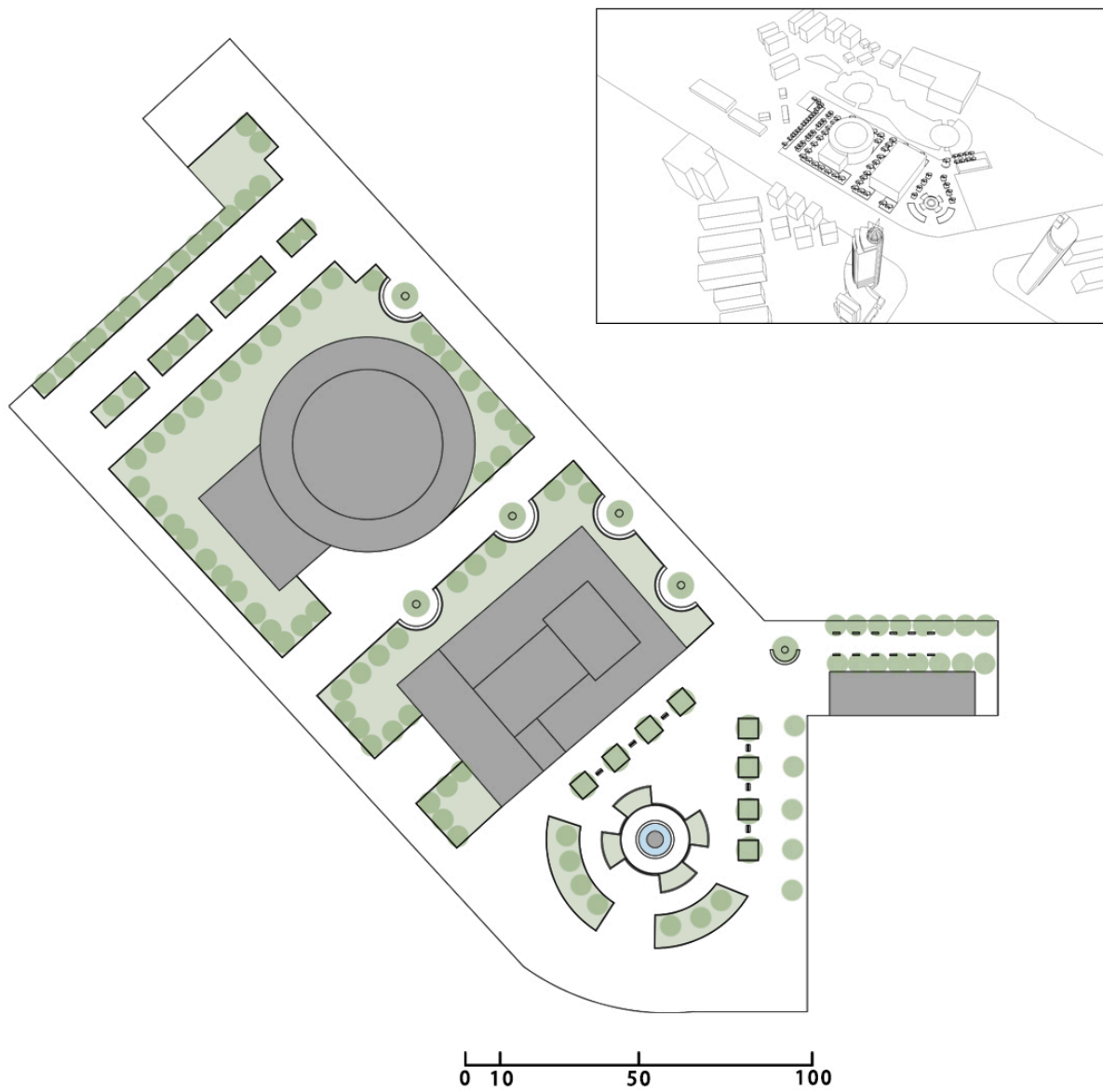


Fig 3-43 Plan and perspective

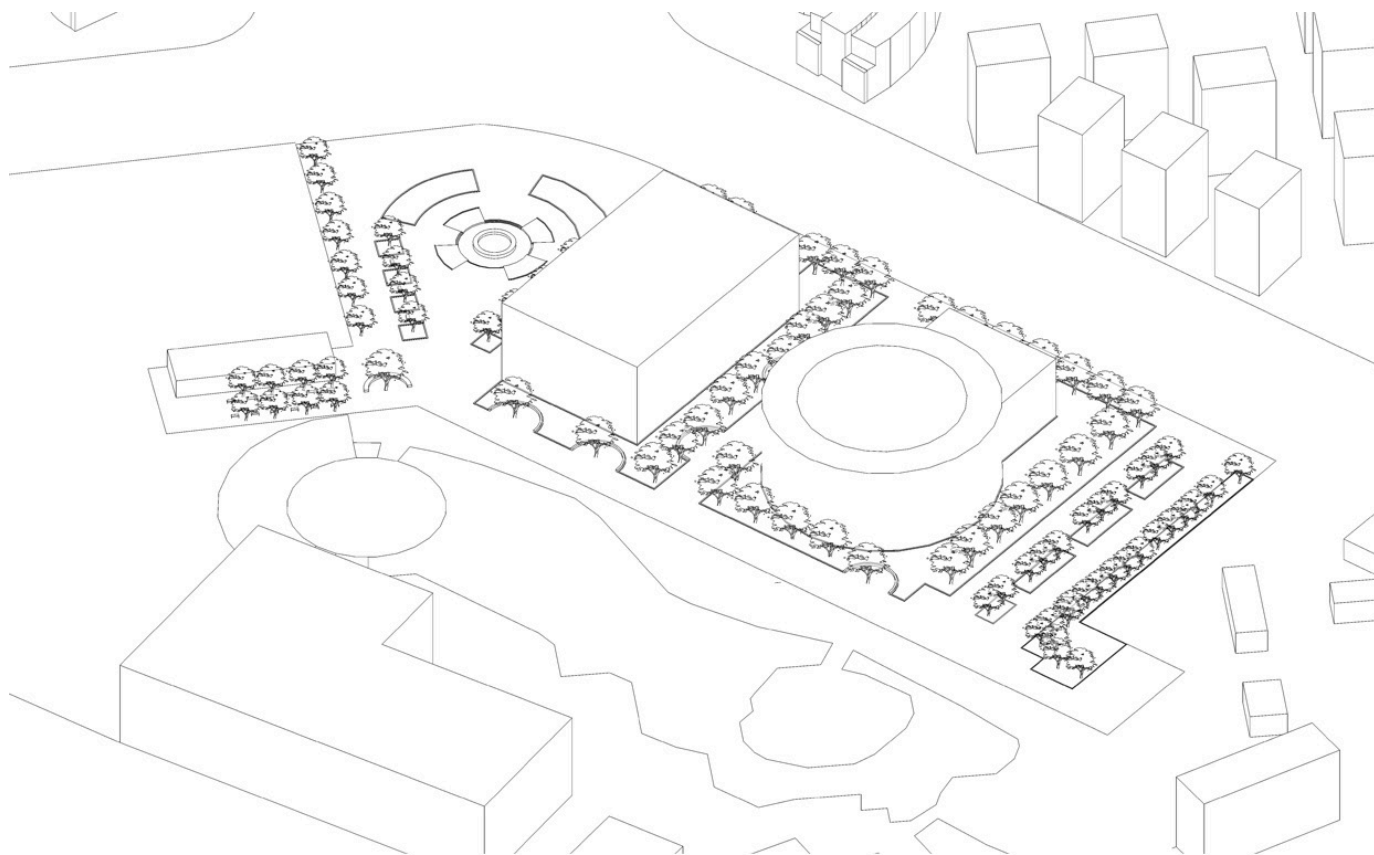


Fig 3-44 Axiomatic projecrion and photos

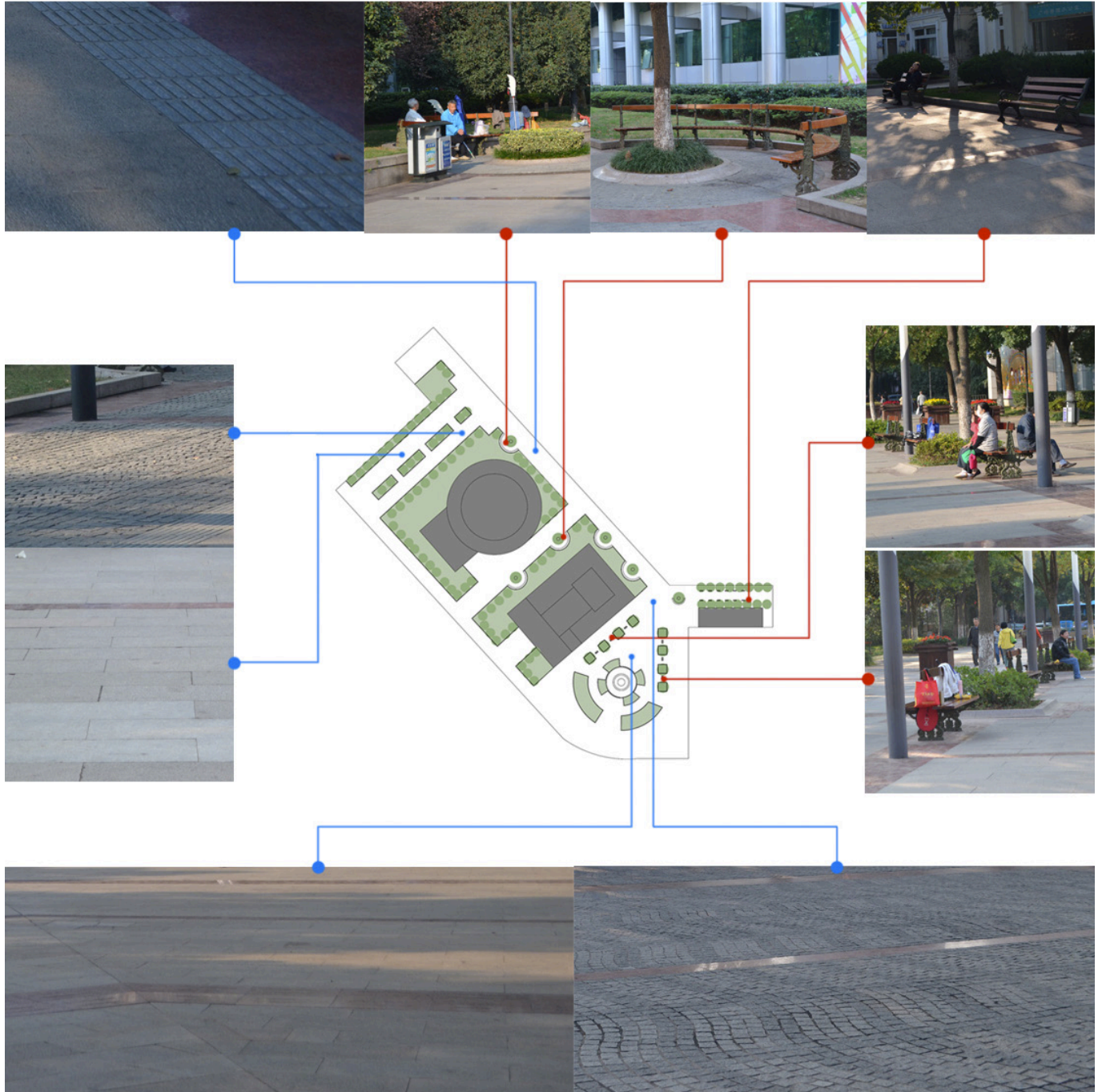


Fig 3-46 Pavements and seats

4 Squares in Peculiar Context

4.1 Background

When square prospered in the 90s of last century, it has been 20 years after Mao's death. With persistent endeavor of reformers like Zhao Ziyang, Hu Yaobang and Deng Xiaoping, etc., China was transforming to a 'modernized' country gradually. The square construction was booming along with idealistic reformation of urban design. In this period of drastic transformation, the whole architecture industry has many peculiar characters and influenced square design in many ways.

4.1.1 Designer

The beginning of Chinese square's 'golden age' is quite similar to those political movements in Mao's era, as stated in the 2nd chapter, it was provoked by an editorial by China's daily (official mouthpiece of the party) in 1996. Square construction showed great prosperity ever since and became a bargaining chip for government officers to get promotion. However, comparing to the sudden and large needs of square, there were quite a few architects have experience for square practice.

¹⁶ An general introduction to architecture history of the world except China. It is officially selected textbook for architecture school in China. There are short introductions about several famous squares like Saint Mark in Venice and Saint Peter's Square in Roma.

As chief architect of Nanjing Municipal Design and Research Institution Lu Jian's words: we did not have courses about square when I was in university in the 80s, we learned square only in 'Architecture History of the World'¹⁶. (Personal Communication, August16, 2015) Landscape architect, professor Yang Donghui of South-east University said: we just have quite a few reference in 2003 when we were designing Xi'anmen square, but the theory about how to deal with space, form and function is universal. He considers 2 books influence many architects including him: one is 'Forms and Functions of twentieth-century architecture' edited by Talbot Hamlin, another is 'Architecture: form, space and order' by Frank D. K. Ching. (Personal Communication, October17, 2015)

The inadequacy of experienced architects, systematical training in university and suitable reference was a disadvantage for square design in the

‘golden age’, but left aside those classical and authoritative theories, there were opportunities for architects to find original solutions to deal with urban problems of China in their square practices.

There is one phenomenon should be noticed that landscape architect in China contains designers studied in 2 majors: one is landscape in architecture school, another is garden design, usually this major is settled in agricultural or forestry university. There are many squares was designed by Garden Design Institute, for example, in Nanjing’s case, Gulou Square and Hanzhongmen Square was designed by ‘Garden Design and Plan Institute of Nanjing(南京园林规划设计院)’. Learn from the official design introduction of these 2 squares, designers studied in the garden major have more consideration on the configuration of lawns and plants than landscape architects studied in architecture school. (Wang, 1998)

4.1.2 ‘Tradition’ of mannerism

Beaux-art education has been adopted in China for 89 years since 1927, it was imported by the first generation architects who received the systematically western education. At the beginning of last century, when Beaux-arts Architecture was prevalent in United States, universities of this country, especially University of Pennsylvania was the most attractive option for Chinese students. Most founders of Beaux-arts education in China, like Liang Sicheng, Liu Dunzhen, Tong Jun, Yang Tingbao, Chenzhi, were graduates from University of Pennsylvania. They established architecture schools in Tsinghua University, National Central University¹⁷, Northeastern University, Chongqing University, etc., and copied education system of Pennsylvania to those new architecture schools they established.

Certainly there were architecture schools followed different theories, – Saint John’s University (Tongji University) was a typical case. Architecture school of Saint John’s University was established by Huang Zuole, who graduate from Harvard University and greatly influenced by Gropius. In this university, architecture education followed Bauhaus system. However, in the 50s of last century, Mao commanded the whole nation to study ‘superior experience’ from the Soviet Union. Chinese professors

¹⁷ National Central University located in Nanjing, was the best public university in Republic of China. It was divided into several parts after 1949, architecture school was distributed to Southeast University.

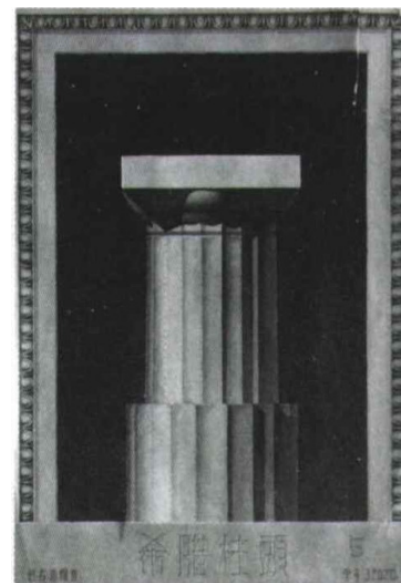


Fig 4-1 (1) works of student source: Memorial symposium for 70 anniversary of the Architectural Department of Southeast University, 1927-1997



Fig 4-1 (2) works of student source: Memorial symposium for 70 anniversary of the Architectural Department of Southeast University, 1927-1997

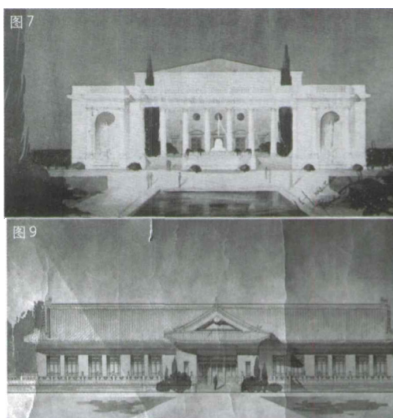


Fig 4-1 (3) works of student source: Memorial symposium for 70 anniversary of the Architectural Department of Southeast University, 1927-1997

found the architectural education system of Soviet Union was almost the same to Beaux-arts, therefore. Beaux-arts became a matter of ‘Political Correctness’ in Mao’s age. It is the political power instead of academic consideration pushed beaux-arts to be a national system (Gu, 2007).

However, the theory of Beaux-arts education was not fully realized in China. Gu Daqing gives this opinion that this education system was localized, especially in the training of ‘analytique’. By John F. Harbeson, the purpose of ‘analytique’ is to teach students to study and research elements of buildings. (as cited in Gu,2007,P5)But in China, it trained students more on form and style and caused the prevailing of mannerism. The misreading of ‘analytique’ made students believe, to design a successful building, it is essential to choose a suitable reference and imitate related elements. (Gu,1997)

Isolated from the mainstream of architecture theory for decades, when China restart to communicate with the rest of world in the 80s of last century, architects and educators found the discussion about double coding, irony and paradox, and contextualism in Post-modern theory were more acceptable since it was more compatible with Beaux-arts education they received. They think the Postmodernism has an internal and intrinsic relationship with Beaux-arts. (Gu, 2007) Contextualism was also popular and was reinterpreted in a Chinese way—in many cases, architects imitate elements of traditional buildings to show their ‘respect of context’. This tendency made further prevailing of mannerism.

The golden age for square construction is the 90s of last century and the first decades of the 21st century when the atmosphere of architectural industry is mannerism. The tendency to emphasize composition and form caused symmetrical plans and connotational ornaments of square.

4.1.3 Immature bidding system

Today, China has a relatively complete system and procession for tender, competition and construction, there are relevant laws for each procession, all the bidding information could be found on website authorized by the

government. However, in architect Lujian's opinion, to find a project is a matter of socialization and relation before the Bidding Law was published¹⁸. (Lu Jian, Personal Communication, August16, 2015) Whenever a company wishes to acquire information about a square project, they must maintain a good relationship with certain people working in the government, with normal or abnormal methods. In some cases, if this relationship is strong enough, probably they will be the default winner of competition.

¹⁸ the Bidding Law for China's Republic of China(Jan.1st, 2000), Regulation on the implementation of the Bidding Law for China's republic of China (Feb.1st, 2012)

The bidding procession is not professional enough even few years after the publishment of Bidding Law. For example, by the 37th subsection of Bidding Law(2000), the jury for competition should contain at least 5 people and at least 2/3 of the jury should be experts of related area. The experts will be chosen randomly from an experts database. This database has very specialized branch of discipline today, but in the golden age of square design, all the experts related to architecture and urban design are mixed together. Selected from this kind of database, a square bidding might has a structural engineer or water supply engineer as the jury. (Lu Jian, Personal Communication, August16, 2015)

4.2 Similar and peculiar characters of ---squares

As mentioned before, the inadequacy of experienced architect, systematical training in university and suitable reference was a disadvantage for square design, but this condition gave opportunities for architects to find original solutions to deal with the urban problems of China in their square design practice. This is the background of peculiar characters in which square was formed.

4.2.1 irregular plan-- the shaped square rather than planed

One of the similar characters of squares is that they are not planned with surrounding building together and the shapes of them are formed in the procession of urban evolution rather than designed. This is the reason of irregular squares in Nanjing. (Fig4-2)

A typical case is Gulou Square. The shape of Gulou Civic Square's site

was not planned or designed but formed in the progress of urban development, the shape of it reflected every vital reform of urban design. ‘Patterns of streets and spaces have often developed over many hundreds of years, the fragments and ‘ghost’ of patterns from different eras can be seen in the ground plans of many cities’ (Carmona et al , 2003,P64), how Gulou Square shaped is just the example for this point of view.

The earliest building existed in Gulou area is Gulou (the drum tower), this is the essential element which influences the morphology of this area. Although it was located in the center of Nanjing geometrically, Gulou area was actually the ‘periphery’ of the city in Ming dynasty—the first emperor of Great Ming were too ambitious to build a grand capital, but the population of Nanjing was far from enough to fill his ambition, even until the beginning of last century, residential area is no more than half area inside Nanjing’s city wall. (See fig1-4)

Gulou became the center of Nanjing geographically and economically by the urban reform brings by ‘Capital Plan’. It was conceived as the linkage of a new planned industrial area in the North and the old south part. 4 main roads and 1 railway go through this area. The plot of Gulou square has been roughly shaped by roads and buildings after the ‘Capital Plan’ partly realized. (Fig4-3)

After 1949, numbers of constructions was applied to this area, but the structure of Gulou area keeps the form defined by ‘Capital Plan’. After Beijing Road was built during Cultural Revolution and China mobile office was built in the 90s, the shape of Gulou Civic Square was finally formed. This site reflects the memory of Nanjing since Ming dynasty, the procession of how it shaped is a palimpsest game Carmona,M mentioned. (2003,P64)

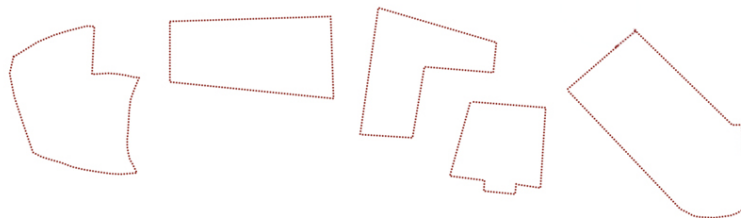


Fig 4-2 the irregular shape of squares in Nanjing

Gulou Square



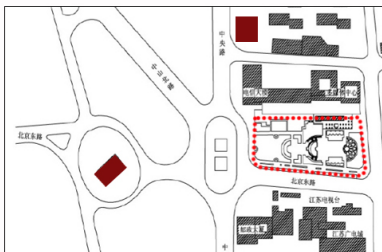
Map of 1903, after 12 years of 'capital regime, the 5 roads intersection was formed, as well as the shape of plot.



Map of 1939, the drum tower and bell tower was the center of this area, the south-east corner of the plot has formed.



Map of 1953, there is no big change in the structure of this area compare to 1939.



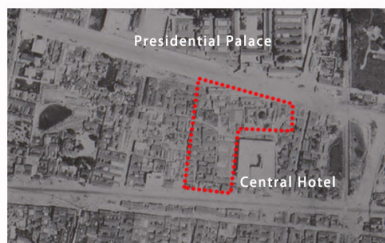
Map of 2007, the square was finished in 1998, the original plan is to built an large square from the south edge of the plot to the bell tower, however, a office building of 30 stories was approved by the government despite scholars and citizens' disagreement.

Fig 4-3 the evolution of Gulou plot, Adapted from multi resources, detail in figure list

Daxinggong Square



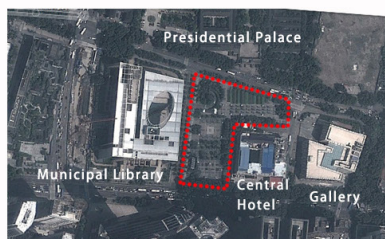
Map of 1912, 1912 is the year Republic of China established. A former Governor' House was used as Provisional Government office. The road stuture of this area is almost the same with today. It forms the north and south edge of the Daxing-gong Square.



Map of 1929, the central government finally settled here in 1927. Central Hotel was build in 1929. It determined the south-east corner of the square.



Map of 2005,the project of municipal library started 2002, finished in 2007. The square finished in the same year. It forms the west edge of the square.



Map of 2011, the construction of Gallery was started in 2006, finisied in 2009.

Fig 4-4 evolution of Daxinggong plot, Adapted from multi resources, detail in figure list

Xi'anmen
Square



Map of 1929, after 17 years of construction under the 'capital plan', a main road of Nanjing--Zhongshan East Road was built in north side of the site. This road was named after 'the father of republic' Dr.Sun Yixian, as well as the Yixian Bridge.



Map of 1939, Xihuamen Road was build along a already existed street.



Condition of 2000, Xihuamen Restaurant was build in 1986,the south side was defined.



Map of 2005, the square was fulfilled in 2003. By the determination of the Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, the land of east side of the square was define as service industry, it won't be a part of the square. A sea food restaurant was designed and build, it defined the east edge of the square.

Fig4-5 evolution of Xi'anmen plot,
Adapted from multi resources, detail in figure list

Hanzhongmen Square



Map of 1929, the city gate unruined. The site was defined except North-west corner.



Map of 1939, North-west corner was defined by Hanzhong Road and Hanxin-enwai Road.

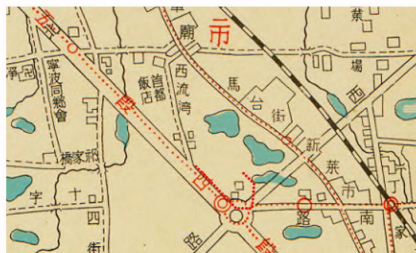


Map of 2005

Shanxilu Square



Map of 1929, Zhongshan North Road and Hunan Road defined South-west and South-east edge. A building name-unknown defined part of north-east edge of the site.



Map of 1939



Map of 2005. In 90s of last century, Xiliwan Park was established in north-east of the site. The north east edge was defined. The north-west edge was defined by residential buildings in 90s.

Fig 4-6 Evolution of Hanzhongmen Plot and Shanxilu Plot, Adapted from multi resources, detail in figure list

4.2.3 ‘amorphous’ space

In Pope(1996) and Bentley’s (1998) point of view, during the modern period, the morphological structure of the public space network has changed from building as constituent elements in urban blocks defining ‘streets’ and ‘squares’, to buildings as separate freestanding pavilions standing in an amorphous ‘spaces’. (as cited in Carmona et al, 2003, P61) Although the traditional structure of Nanjing is not constituent elements in urban blocks defining ‘streets’ and ‘squares’, it is freestanding pavilions standing in an amorphous ‘spaces’ today.

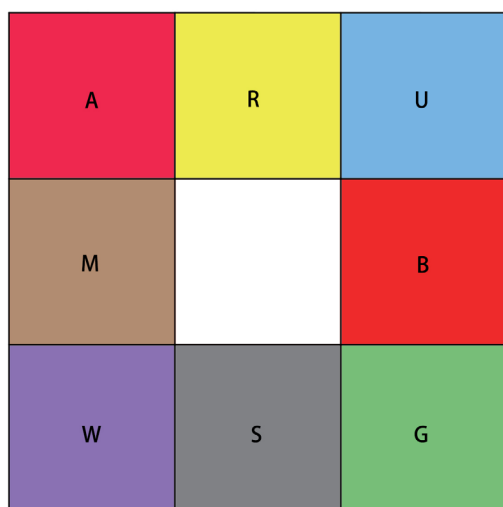
By ‘Urban land classification and land-use standards for urban planning and construction’ issued in 2012¹⁹, urban land is classified into 8 categories: Residential, Administration and public services, Commercial and business facilities, Industrial, Logistics and Warehouse, Road, street and transportation, Municipal utilities, Green space, and square. (Fig4-7) Lands will be allocated to related government offices and state-owned enterprise, or sold to companies, organizations and so on, according to land use plan made by the municipal planning bureau. Once a land was defined as Green space and square, no buildings could be built on this land except service buildings like toilet, teahouses or management office.

¹⁹This vision—GB50137-2011, is revised and republished in 2012, meanwhile the old vision GBJ 137-90 published in 1991 was abolished. In the old vision, urban land was divided into 10 categories.

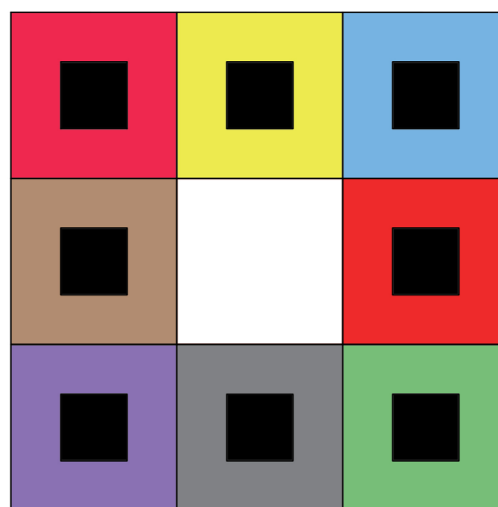
If lands around a square are divided into several functions, they will be allocated or sold to different owners. By ‘code for design of building for fire protection’ (2015), there must be a certain distance between buildings according to the height and fire resistance class of buildings, the range is from 7m-14m; by ‘request for architecture distance of sunlight’, there must be certain distance between buildings to assure the ground floor of south side could receive the sunshine for at least 2 hours in the day of ‘Winter Solstice Festival’²⁰. (Fig4-8)

²⁰The day have shortest day and longest night., usually it is 21st-23rd of December.

Therefore, there is rare chance that a square could be enclosed by constituent elements. Besides, for the consideration of fire protection or transportation, there is high chance that the surrounding buildings are open to a road instead the square. (Fig 4-9)



A: administration and public service R:residence U:municipal utilities M:industry B:commercial and bussiness A31:university W:logistics and warehouse S:transportation G:Green space and square



By the limitation of natioal laws and regulations, buildings must keep distance according to height, function or surroundings and so on. Therefore, it is difficult to form constituent elements around a square.

Fig 4-7 Land-use classification

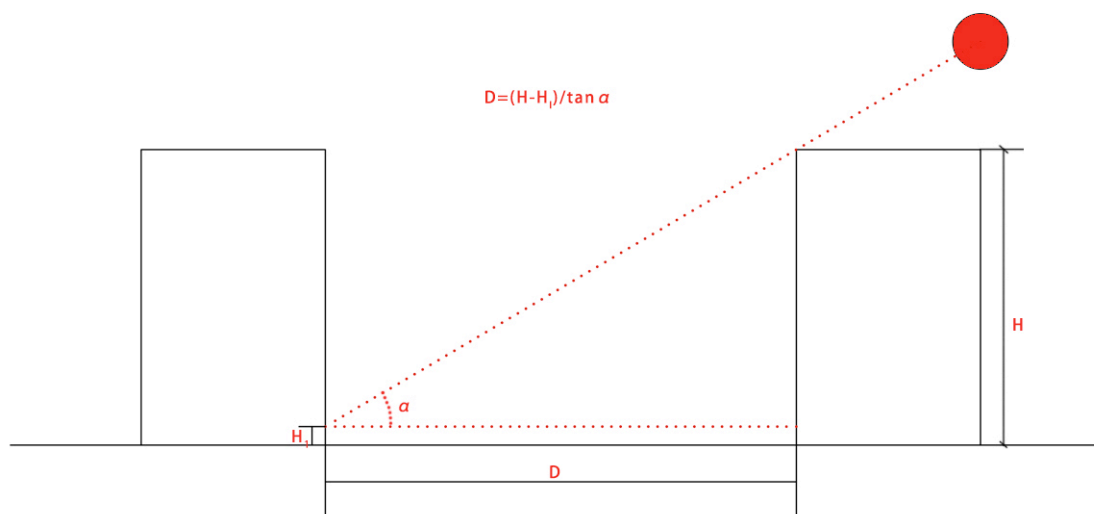
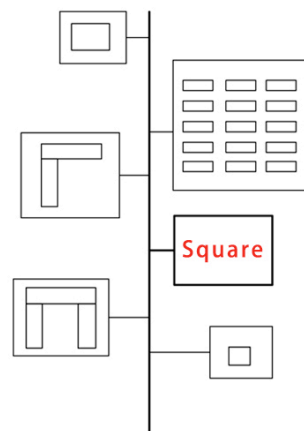


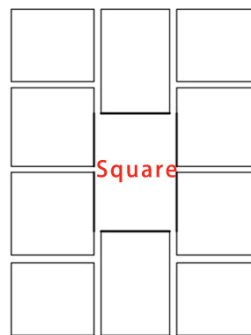
Fig 4-8 Distance of buildings to get enough sunshine

A further transformation in the morphological structure of urban areas is that from outward-facing blocks to inward-focused complexes of buildings, often referred to as 'pods' (Ford, 2000). In pod developments, each use-shopping mall, fast-food outlet, office park, apartments, hotel, housing cluster, etc.-is conceived as a separate element, surrounded by associate parking and usually with its own access onto a collector or main distributor road. (Carmona et al, 2003,P77) Most areas of Nanjing tend to be pod structure. In pod structure, square is no longer the center for the organization of an area but a 'pod on vine' as the same with other blocks. In pod structure, it is roads instead of squares become the center to organize an area. (Fig4-9)

For Sitte (1965), the enclosure was taken as the prerequisite of the square. Carmona (2003) considers that positive space means relatively enclosed, negative space is shapeless. When several buildings or urban blocks are clustered together in a more organized manner, 'positive' spaces can be created. Those principles of designing more pleasant space are also essential for squares of Nanjing. To create enclosure to amorphous squares, architects have to use other methods, for example, design lawns or parterres and plant trees along the edge of a square.



In an area organized by roads, roads are the center of this structure.



In an area organized by square, square is the center of this structure.

Fig 4-9 comparison of 2 structures, adapted from Duany, et al., 2000, p23



Fig 4-10 Figure-ground reversal--amorphous square of Nanjing, adapted from google map

4.2.4 Importance of edge

Sociologist Derk de Jonge mentions a characteristic 'edge effect', the edge of forests, beaches, groups of trees, or clearing were the preferred zones for staying, while the open plains or beaches were not used until the edge zones were fully occupied. (as cited in Jan Gehl, 1987, P149) Comparable observations can be made in city spaces where the preferred stopping zones also are found along the borders of the spaces or at the edges of spaces within the space. Jan Gehl considers the reason for the popularity of edge zone is that placement at the edge of a space provides the best opportunities for surveying it. (1987,P150) Ethologist Edward T. Hall also point out in 'The hidden dimension', that how placement at the edge of a forest or close to a façade helps the individual or group to keep its distance from others. (1966) Landscape architect Yu Kongjian thinks it is human nature to choose a place which could protect one's back since primitive period. (1998/2000, P69)(Fig11)

Reflecting to square, people tend to linger along reasonably designed edges which could protect their back, therefore, others could only approach them frontally, for example, façade of surrounding buildings, edges of parterre, barrier to protect trees, etc.. Christopher Alexander summarize in 'A Pattern Language': If the edge fails, then the space never become lively, the life of a public square forms naturally around its edge. (1977,p.600) In Nanjing, there is a typical example to show

what will happen if the edge fail in a square. The south part of Shanxilu Square is a space with failed edges, there are large streams of people every day but few will linger there, people just keep moving and pass by that space.

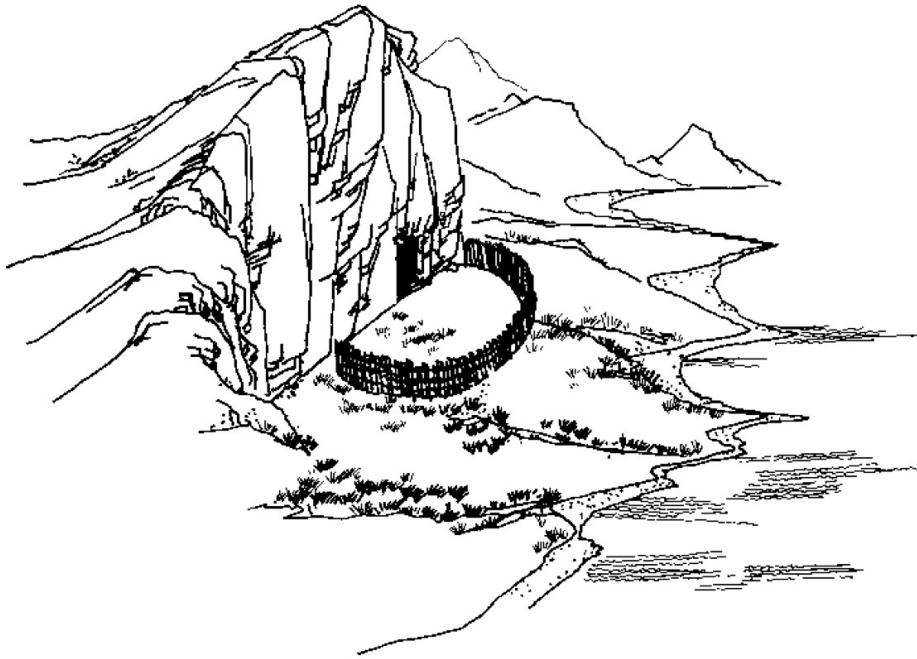
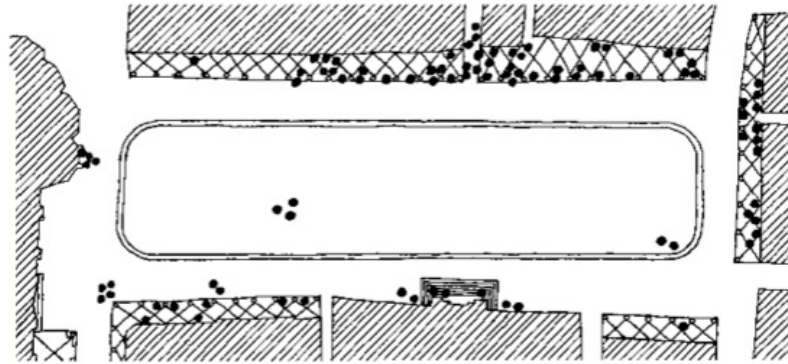


Fig 4-11 Human nature, Source: Yu, K., 2000, the Ideal Landscapes—the Meanings of Fengshui, Beijing: the commercial press, P69 (original publishes in 1998)

Failure of periphery

A reasonably designed façade, should reach out to the street and offer an ‘active’ frontage onto public space, adding interest and vitality to public realm (Carmona et al, 2003,P173). They also consider the edge of a space can be enhanced through the provision of formal or informal places to sit; and a slightly higher level than the space, and partly protected from the weather, for example, an arcade. For Jan Gehl, he considers that to make façades interesting, there should be details-niches, holes, gateways, stairs and so on. (1987,p153) (Fig4-12)

Fig 4-12 Ascoli Piceno, Italy. Standing people tend to congregate around the edges of the square. People can be found standing alongside facades, under porticoes, in niches, and next to columns. Source: Jan Gehl, P148.



However, as stated before, most peripheries of squares in Nanjing are not buildings but lawns or parterre with trees. Since in China public lawns and parterre are forbidden to step in, empty spaces are formed along the periphery. (Fig4-13) There are few exceptional cases with surrounding buildings, but in Carmona and his partners' point of view, the façades of these buildings are inactive frontages. For example, Hanzhongmen Square is enclosed by a half destroyed fortification; Xi'anmen Square is half enclosed by a restaurant and a hotel, but there is no social interaction created by the façade of these buildings. (Fig4-13,4-14)

Edge in the center

Alexander et al. (1997,p.606) assert that a public space 'without a middle is quite likely to stay empty'. They recommend that people choose something to stand roughly in the middle: a fountain, a tree, and a statue.... Jan Gehl (1987) also pointed that if spaces are desolate and empty--without benches, columns, plants, trees and so forth...it can be very difficult to find places to stop.

But conditions are different in Nanjing since the periphery has been inactive and unattractive in squares of Nanjing, elements Alexander and Gehl suggested is far from enough to support people's back and attract them to stay. To create lively middle, what architects do in Nanjing is

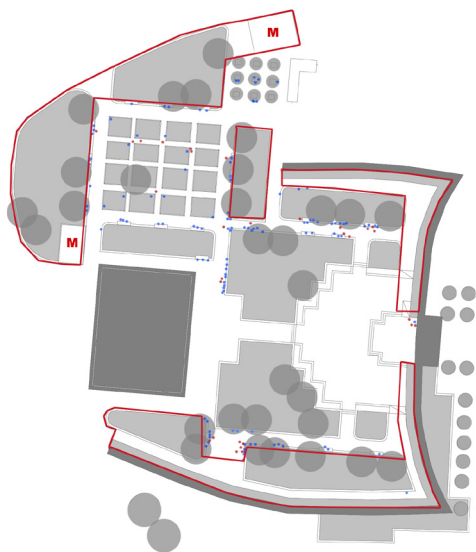


Fig 4-13 empty periphery of Hanzhongmen Square

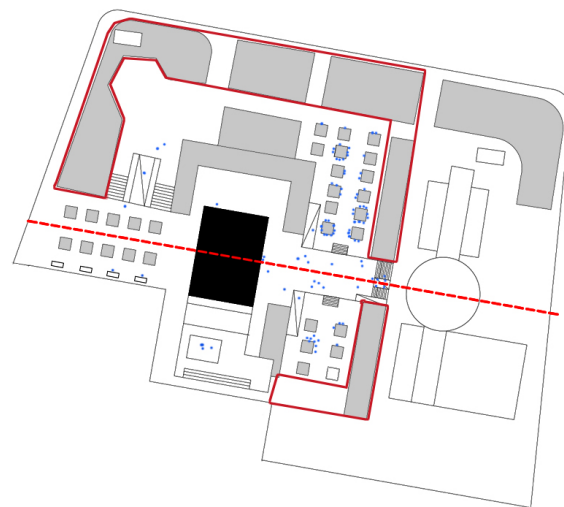


Fig 4-14 empty periphery of Xi'anmen Square

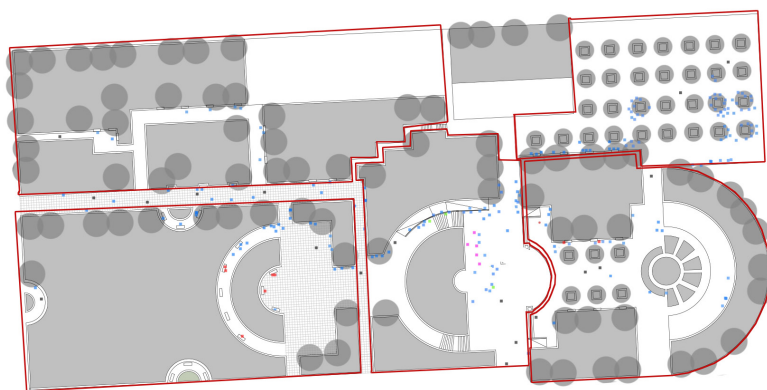


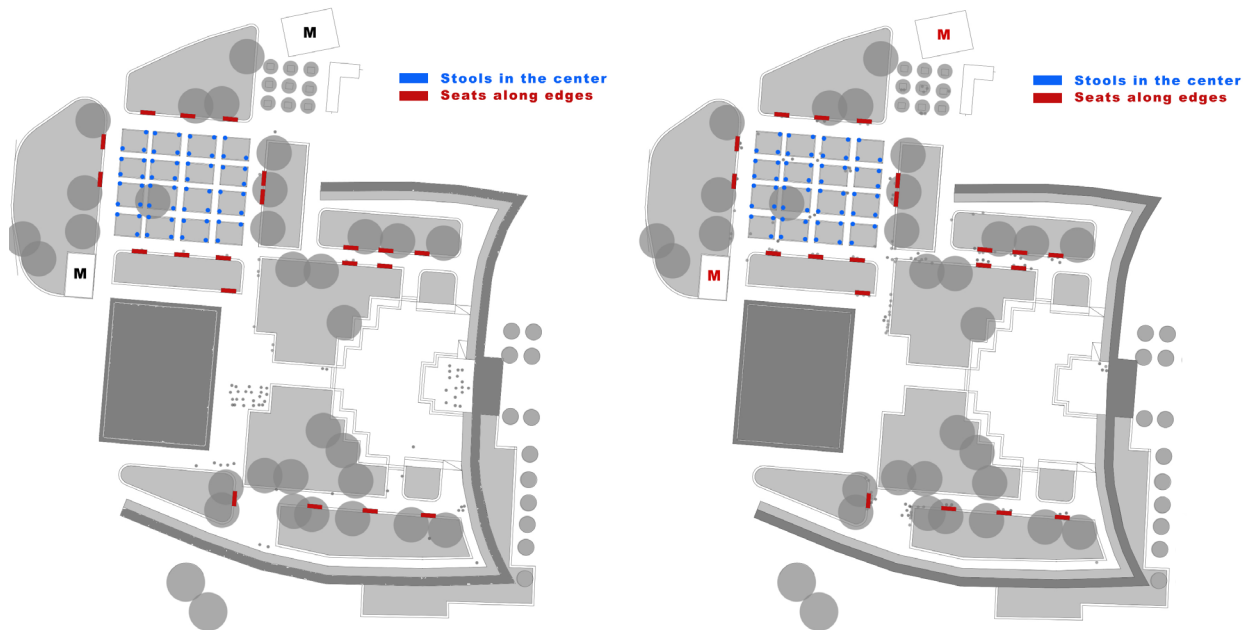
Fig 4-15 subspaces in Gulou Square

to divide the square into several subspaces, then use fountains, trees, statues, benches, columns, plants to fill the middle of those subspaces according to practical consideration. (Fig4-15)

This condition caused great distinction of user distribution in squares of Nanjing compare to squares in Europe. In a European square enclosed by buildings with active façade, people tend to gather along the edge of this square; if there is fountain or statue in the middle, there will be people sit or stand around them. However, in squares with inactive periphery and subspaces, people will stay along the edge of subspaces if they are reasonable designed; if there are trees with benches, statues or fountains in the middle of subspaces, people will linger there.

Besides, to divide the squares into different subspaces is also a remedy for the deficiency of enclosure. Since parterre with trees is a common method architect may use, trees could seclude the noisy environment outside. Subspaces also rescue the square from over spacious. The area of 5 squares selected to study is from 1.5 to 3 hm² and they are not enclosed by buildings. Compare to an amorphous, large and empty square, a smaller subspace offers more pleasant feeling to people.

Edges are also important for the arrangement of seats. In his study 'Seating Preferences in Restaurants and Cafes', the sociologist Derk de Jonge found that restaurant seats with the backs or sides to the wall and with a good view of the general situation were preferred to other seating. (as cited in Jan Gehl, 1987, P157) When one's back is protected, others can approach only frontally, making it easy to keep watch and to react. Moughtin (2003) also said that the opportunity to see events in the area is a dominant factor in the choice of sitting place. In Nanjing, there are no seats floating in the middle of squares except a few stone stools in Hanzhongmen Square, most seats are settled along edges or around trees. Through observation, seats along edges are always the first choice of people; those few stools in Hanzhongmen Square keeps empty except the peak time of this square—in the evening, when the seats along the edge are totally occupied, people have no choice but them. (Fig 4-16)



In the 6:30 pm, when seats along edges are not fully occupied, stools in the center are not used.

In 10:00pm, when seats along edges are fully occupied, people start to sit on the stools in the center.

Fig 4-16 The utility of seats in different time

4.2.5 greenery in square

Different with most of the squares in Europe, green area constitutes a large part in the square of Nanjing. (Fig4-17) By opinion of Marcus and Francis, a square is defined as a mostly hard-surfaced, outdoor public space from which cars are excluded....if grass and planted area exceed the amount of hard surface we have defined the space as a park rather than a square. (1976,P10) With their standard, Gulou Square even cannot be called a square.

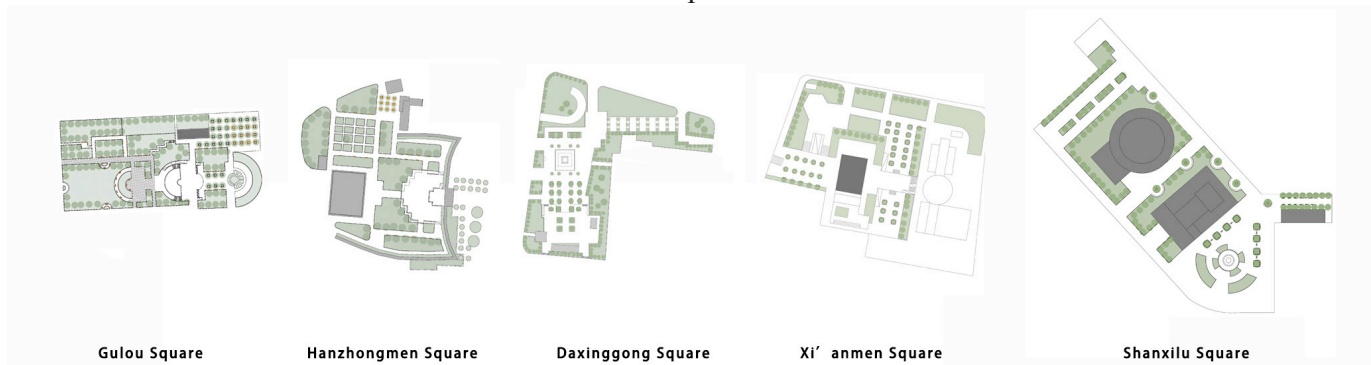


Fig 4-17 Green area of 5 Squares

In ‘the principle of urban plan’, the universally used textbook for architectural school around China, there should be facilities and greenery in a square. (2001, P.512) When they are students, architects have received this idea that there should be green area in a square.

There are many papers to state how they design plants in a square. In a paper ‘the design feature of ‘Gulou square’, Wang (1998) pointed that one of their design features is the carefully design of plant’s variety and color and transplantation of trees with large crowns that could offer shades. Xu (2001) use to criticize the condition of the inadequacy of big trees could create shades in Hanzhongmen Square. Wang et al (2005) consider the plant design in Shanxilu Square is reasonable and pleasant. All these paper showed that architects tend to consider greenery is an essential element to a square.

However, in Nanjing’s condition, green area, especially trees are significant to attract people. A famous character of this city is that it is one

of the ‘4 furnace cities’²⁰, it is impossible to stay outside without shade in sunshine summer. For European squares surrounding by buildings, there is shade comes from those buildings. But for squares have loose relationship with surrounding buildings, trees become greatly important to make the square pleasant for people stay.

²⁰ 4 furnace cities are Wuhan, Nanjing, Chongqing and Changsha.

The green area in square also helps to seclude transportation and noisy from the city. Since squares are not enclosed by buildings, usually there are lawns or parterres with trees in the edge of them, it is a remedy for the unenclosed square.

4.2.6 origin-destination movement

Booth (1983,p.142) refers to the ‘windmill’ or ‘whirling’ square, while Camillo Sitte (1889/1965) refers to a ‘turbine’ plan, this organization contribute to strengthening the enclosure of spaces, it also forces pedestrians entering to experience the space, since they are encouraged to walk through--rather than by it. (Fig4-18) Their conclusions were made from studies of European squares that are designed as enclosed open spaces and part of urban structure. However, although design concept and context are greatly different, in terms of ‘force’ pedestrians entering the square, there are similar design methods to ‘whirling’ or ‘turbine’ plan in Nanjing.

Although squares of Nanjing are not enclosed by buildings, they are divided from the city by lawn or parterre with trees. Usually, there are several entrances for a square, the setting of entrance together with destinations this entrance will leading to forms the similar whirling or turbine plan. The destinations could attract more pedestrian could be a metro station, a bus station, a crossroad or a supermarket. However, there are large streams of people are encouraged to go inside the square, quite rare of them will stay. The main population of squares does not come from the pedestrian stream, they are totally different groups of people.

Whirling plan by Booth

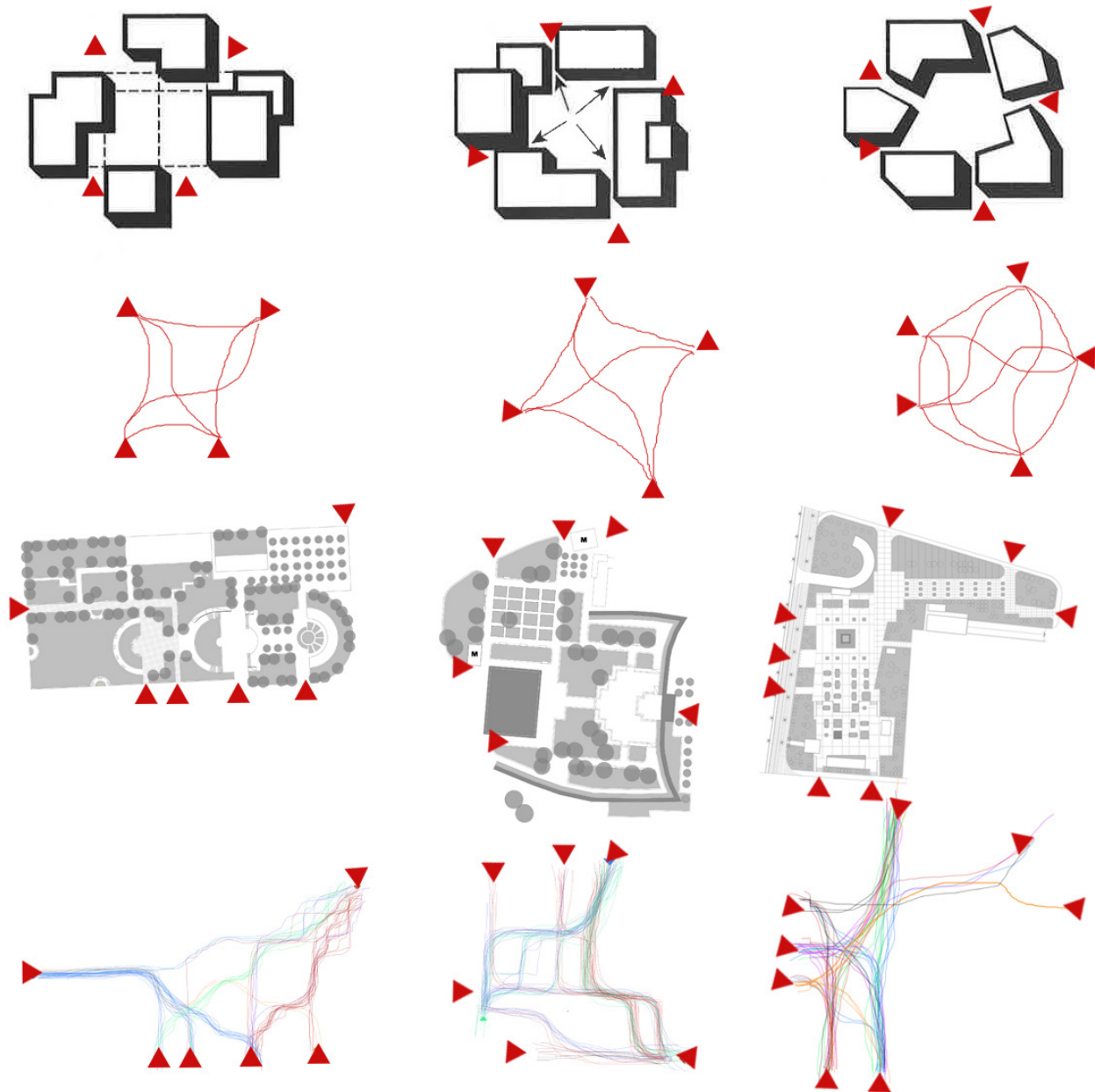


Fig 4-18 In terms of 'forcing' pedestrian, squares of Nanjing have similarity with Booth's 'whirling plan', adapted from Booth, 1983, p. 142

4.3 popular square and unpopular square

Among 5 selected cases in this research, most of the time in a day, Hanzhongmen square has the highest population density while Daxinggong Square has the lowest; Gulou Square and Shanxilu Square is also very popular but Xi'anmen Square is just a little bit better than Daxinggong Square. Known from chat 1, the rank of average utility condition is Hanzhongmen Square>Gulou Square>Shanxilu Square>Xi'anmen Square>Daxinggong Square. (Chat4-1) So what makes a popular square and what makes an unpopular square?

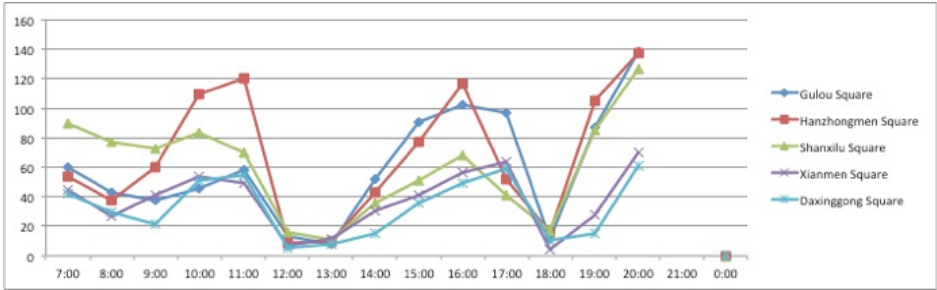


Chart4- 1 Population density through a day

4.3.1 Location—a fact to attract people to come

An advantageous location could offer more substantial users for a square, is it the reason to make a popular square? In Nanjing's case, what location influences the utility of a square is the surrounding public buildings/commercials/office buildings, residential buildings inside 1km and the public transportation. Public / commercial/office buildings and residential buildings offer source of users for a square, while public transportation assures the accessibility of it. As for gated community like universities, government offices, hospitals etc., they have small influence since related people of these communities usually tend to use the half-public spaces inside their communities.

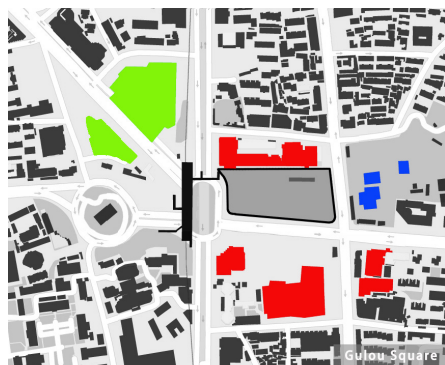
4.3.1.1 Source of users—Public/commercial/office buildings

3 of the 5 research subjects have more advantageous location than the oth-

²¹ The Children's Palace is originated in Soviet Union and prevailed in other socialist country, it is a public building where children engaged in extra-curricular activities.

er 2: they are located in the prosperous district of city center and surrounded by office buildings, public buildings or shopping mall: Gulou Square is inside CBD area of Nanjing, aside the highest office building of Nanjing-- Zifeng Tower which is a combination of commercial complex and office building, has 4 main roads intersected nearby; Daxinggong Square is surrounded by municipal library, museums and gallery, aside famous office buildings of Nanjing—Changfa Tower, commercial complex, supermarket and national famous tourist traction—the presidential palace; Shanxilu Square is located at the intersection of the significant commercial road--Hunan Road and the main road--Zhongshan Road of Nanjing, has a small theater and the Children's Palace²¹ inside the square. However, advantageous location does not mean high utility, Daxinggong Square is the least popular square among research subjects although it is surrounded by important public buildings. (Fig 4-19)

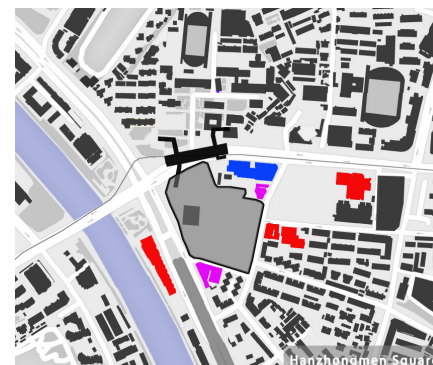
While the most popular square Hanzhongmen Square is not in an advantageous location, there is neither posh shopping or office tower nor significant public building surround it, but buildings near it are closer to people's daily life: fast food restaurants like KFC, fresh fried bun, etc. Conditions are similar in Xi'anmen Square, there is just a seafood restaurant adjacent to it. (Fig 4-19)



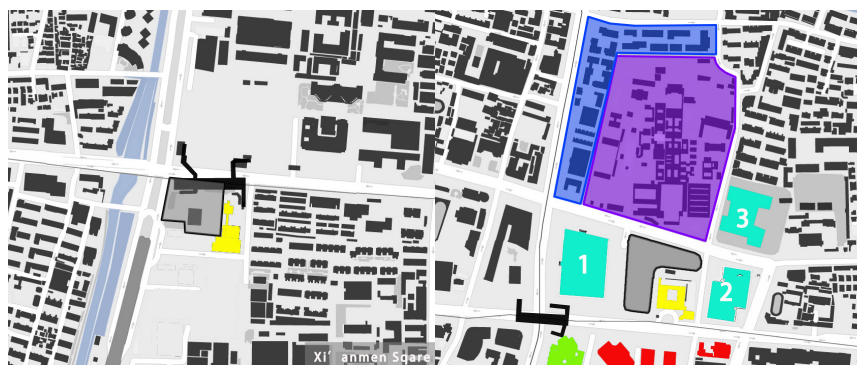
- Office building
- Shopping mall
- Commercial complex+office building



- Office building
- Shopping mall/shop
- Commercial complex+office building
- Public building(1Theater2Children's Palace3Hunan road community)
- Commercial district



- Office building/Company
- Shop/fast food restaurant
- Hotel



- Restaurant



- Office building
- Commercial street
- Commercial complex+office building
- Public building(1Nanjing Municipal Library 2Jinling Gallery3Six Dynasties Museum)
- Restaurant
- Attraction(Presidential Palace)

Fig 4-19 buildings around squares

4.3.1.2 Source of users—residential area

Another element could bring substantial users to squares. Based on field study and questionnaire, most of the users come from residence areas inside 1km from the square. Therefore, is the popularity of square determined by the area of residence?

Through comparison of residential area around 5 squares, the third popular square Shanxilu Square has the highest density of residential buildings; the least popular Daxinggong square, the forth-popular Xi'anmen Square, and the second popular square Gulou Square have similar density of residential buildings. (Fig4-20,4-21,4-22,4-23,4-24) As for Hanzhongmen Square, it does not possess advantageous location in terms of residence area either. As a remaining city gate, it located on the edge of Nanjing in the past, the city wall and river along it formed the urban periphery. Today, city wall of this area are no longer exist and Nanjing has been enlarged almost triple its original size. However, a 40m wide fast road is built on the site of destroyed city wall, it becomes a visible 'wall' still separating the city. Moreover, there is a river aside that road, the area across the river is called 'Westside of the River', the road and river separate the city together. This geographical and special separation limits the source of potential users for Hanzhongmen Square: most users of Hanzhongmen Square come from the east side of it, although there are many residential communities 160m away across the road and river. (Fig4-24)

The outcome of comparison shows that residential area is not the decisive element for a square's popularity: a certain quantity of residential buildings offer potential users for a square but can not influence people's desire to use the square.



Fig 4-20 Residential areas near Gulou Square, adapted from google map



Fig4- 21 Residential areas near Shanxilu Square, adapted from google map



Fig4- 22 Residential areas near Daxinggong Square, adapted from google map



Fig 4-23 Residential areas near Xi'anmen Square, adapted from google map



Fig 4-24 A fast road together with a river make Hanzhongmen Square secluded from the west part of the Nanjing, adapted from google map

4.3.1.3 Public transportation—the key fact for accessibility

All of the 5 cases selected for study have good accessibility: Gulou square has 1 metro line in use and 1 under construction, 5 bus stations, and 19 bus lines; Daxinggong Square has 2 metro line, 5 bus stations, and 14 bus lines; Hanzhongmen Square has 1 metro line, 5 bus stations, and 14 bus lines; Xi'anmen Square has 1 metro line, 2 bus stations, and 7 bus lines; Shanxilu Square is the only square without metro station stops there, but it has 2 bus stations with 10 buses stop there. (Fig4-25)

Although the unpopular Xi'anmen Square has less public transportation than others, the most unpopular Daxinggong Square has excellent accessibility. Therefore, like the residential area, public transportation is not the decisive fact for the popularity of square either.

Known from table 1, the popular Gulou Square has extraordinary advantages in all the 3 aspects but another popular square--Hanzhongmen Square does not; another square—Daxinggong square which located in the super advantageous area is the most unpopular. The conclusion could be made from using conditions these 5 squares that, location is a prerequisite to attract people but better location does not mean better utilization.

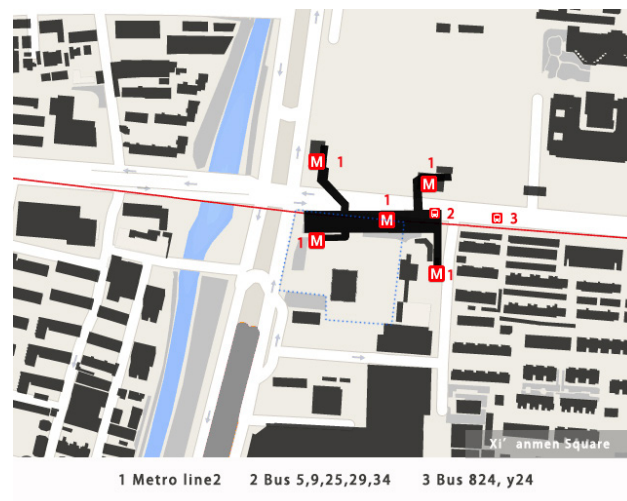
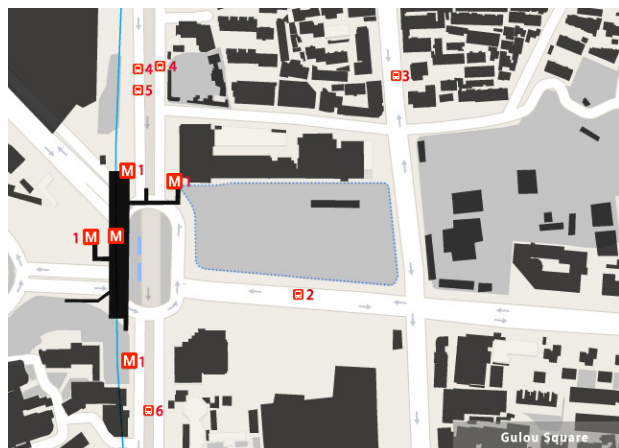


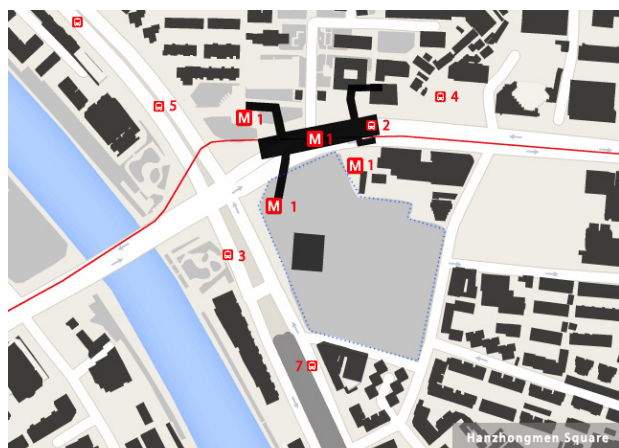
Fig 4-25(1) Public transportation of Xi'anmen Square



1 Metro Line1,Line4(under construction) 2 Bus 3,11,20,24,67
3 Bus30,46,47,52,y11 4 Bus 3,25,33,35,201 5 Bus y1,y2
6 Bus 1,16,25,33,y1,y16



1 Bus 3,8,22,47,52 2 Bus 13,16,31,34,42



1 Metro line 2 2 Bus 13,18,68,78,y5 3 Bus 13,21,23,75,312,d12
4 Bus hub 502,511 5 Bus 21,23,75,502,511,552 6 134,d12



1 Metro line 2,line3 2 Bus 824, y1,y24
3 Bus 29, 44, 65,95,201,202,304
4 Bus 3,31,80,202,313

Fig 4-25(2) Public transportation of Gulou, Shanxili, Hanzhongmen, Daxinggong squares

Table 1 Comparison of popularity and location

	Gulou Square	Hanzhongmen Square	Shanxilu Square	Xi'anmen Square	Daxinggong Square
Popularity	Excellent	Excellent	Good	Good	Modest
Public buildings/commercial/offices	Ample and posh	Modest	Ample	Deficient	Ample and posh
Residential Buildings	Ample	Least	Most	Ample	Ample
Public Transportation	20 lines	15 lines	10 lines	8 lines	16 lines

4.3.2 Elements to form a pleasurable square for stay

Gehl defined 3 types of outdoor activities in his ‘life between buildings’: Necessary activities Optional activities and Social activities. (2006/2011,P9-P12) Necessary activities include going to school or to work, waiting for a bus or a person, they are more or less compulsory and more or less independent from exterior environment. Optional activities like taking a walk, standing around or sitting and sunbathing, only take place when exterior conditions are favorable, when weather and place invite them. As for social activities, they are direct consequence of people moving and being in the same place. In this category, people do not need to stay in the square for necessary activities while will stay for optional activities and social activities. That means the design of exterior environment of a square is the key fact to make people stay.

4.3.2.1 Comparison of 2 partly active squares

Daxinggong Square and Xi'anmen Square have a same character—half of the square is active but the other half is not.

Daxinggong Sqaure

The users of Daxinggong Square gather in the south part of this square while the north side is almost forgotten. (Fig4-26) This bizarre phenomenon was caused by many reasons.

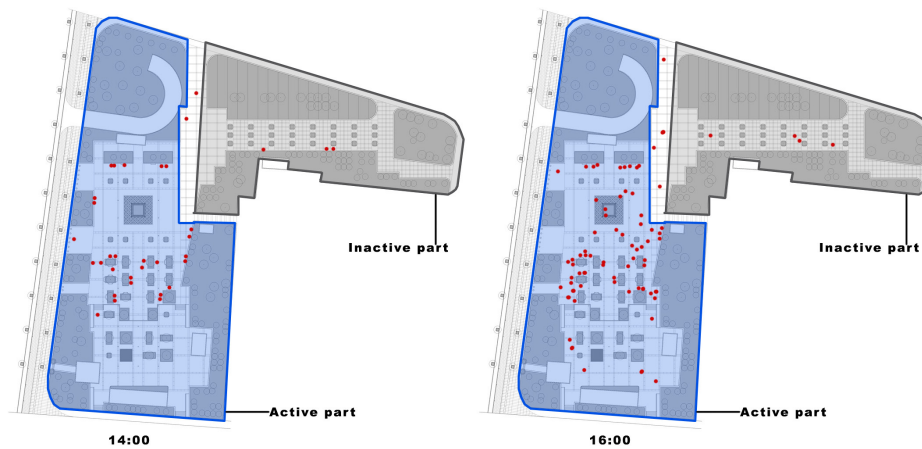


Fig 4-26 The active part and Inactive part of Daxinggong Square

In terms of seats, William Whyte asserts that seats are the most significant elements to attract people; (2001,P28) Jan Gel also consider only when opportunities for sitting exist can there be stays of any duration. (2006/2011,P155) In Daxinggong Square, all the seats are settled in the south part, certainly those people who wish to take a seat for rest would stay in the south part. (Fig 4-27) But the quantity of seat is insufficient comparing to other squares like Hanzhongmen Square, this influence the number of people who prefer to stay. Records of the square population at 15:00 shows that, in Hanzhongmen Square where there are more seats, population density are much higher than in Daxinggong square. (Chat1, Fig4-27).

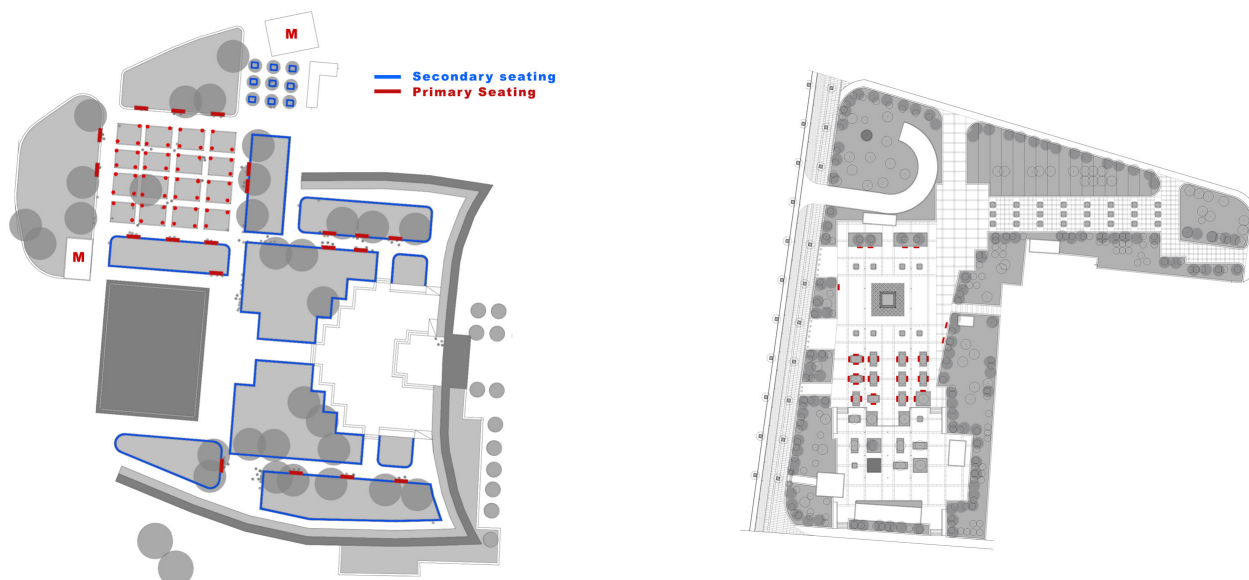


Fig 4-27 Comparison of seats between Daxinggong Square and Hanzhongmen Square

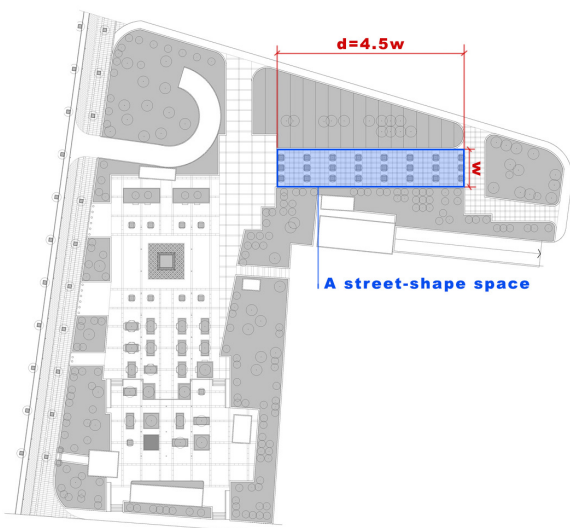


Fig 4-28 Street-shape space

In terms of plan shape, Sitte recommended that no relationship should be more than 3:1, otherwise this space will tend to be a street. However, the proportion of north side of Daxinggong square is 4.5:1. This street-shape space will give people psychological indication to keep moving. (Fig4-28)

Moreover, even pedestrian is quite rare in the north part. Duany et al.(2000,p.64) assert that 'pedestrian life cannot exist in the absence of worthwhile destinations that are easily accessible on foot. Hiller (1996, p.176) considers visual permeability is essential to natural movement. Although the municipal gallery is in the north of square, there is an entrance structure for underground park block people's vision, causes the absence of clear destination for this space.

The settlement of trees in this part is also obstacles for human activity. Planting trees in arrays could also be found in other squares in Nanjing, for example, in Gulou Square and Xi'anmen Square. (Fig 4-29) But trees in these 2 square do not cause inactive space, they are very attractive to users actually. There are 3 reasons for those unwelcomed trees in Daxinggong Square: firstly, those trees are too young to offer shade; secondly, there are no seats under the tree; thirdly, trees are planted too dense, the distance between trees is about 3.5 meters in Daxinggong Square while it is about 5 meters in Gulou and 6 meters in Xi'anmen Square, wider distance offers space and opportunities for group activities .

Xi'an men Square

Xi'anmen square has a level change of 850cm along the axis of the remaining gate. (Fig4-30) Jan Ghel considers differences in level represent a very real problem for pedestrians, people tend to circumvent or avoid the problems of changing levels unless the disadvantages of changing levels are counterbalanced by the length of the detour. (2006/2011, P142) But in Xi'anmen Square, the active side and inactive side is not divided by level change but by the gate: the west side of the remaining gate is inactive while the east side is active.



Fig 4-29 the popular trees in Gulou Square (Left) and Xi'anmen Square (Right), they have 3 similar characters: 1 they are big enough to offer shades in strong sunshine day 2 there are seats under the trees 3 trees are not planted too dense

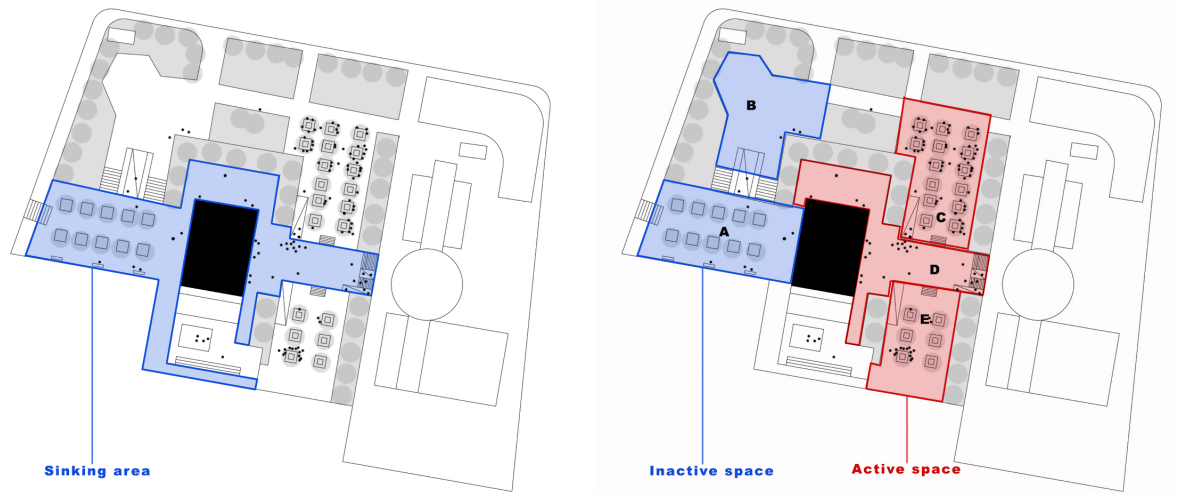


Fig 4-30 the active side and inactive side is not divided by level change



Fig 4-31 Kids like to play in area D

This square could be roughly divided into 5 subspaces (Fig4-30). There are no seats in Area B and area D, few seats in area A and considerable seats in Area C and Area E. Unsurprisingly, Area A is inactive, but Area D without seats is as popular as Area C and Area E. This means, seats is a decisive element for active space but not the only one.

Area D is a space offers the feeling of enclosure to people. This sinking space together with the remaining gate in the west and a restaurant in the west forms a relatively secluded and safe area. The slopes for disabled people is also a reason to make this space attractive, kids play scooter and roller-skating there in the afternoon. (Fig4-31) Besides, square dancers choose here to do exercise in the morning and evening.

Area D is a rectangle space with the proportion of 1.83: 1, but it was divided into 3 parts along the axis, forms 3 narrow spaces. The relation of the widest central part is 4.23:1, it becomes a street-shape space with a clear destination--the gate at the end of the axis attract people move towards it. (Fig4-32) However, compare to the unpopular side of Daxinggong Square, Area A is inactive but not totally deserted. It is seats make this difference--there are few seats in Area A that will at-

tract people to stay. Besides, by Jack Nasar (1998), historical significance provokes favorable associations. The grandeur of remaining gate is also a reason to make this space more pleasant than the unpopular side of Daxinggong Square.

From the comparison of Daxinggong Square and Xi'anmen Square, seat is the most important reason to attract people to stay, with seats, people could tolerant other flaws of this square. Whether spaces without seats attract people depend on characters of them: a narrow and street-shape space will drive people moving through this place; relatively secluded spaces offer feeling of safety will be chosen by people wish to do some exercise.

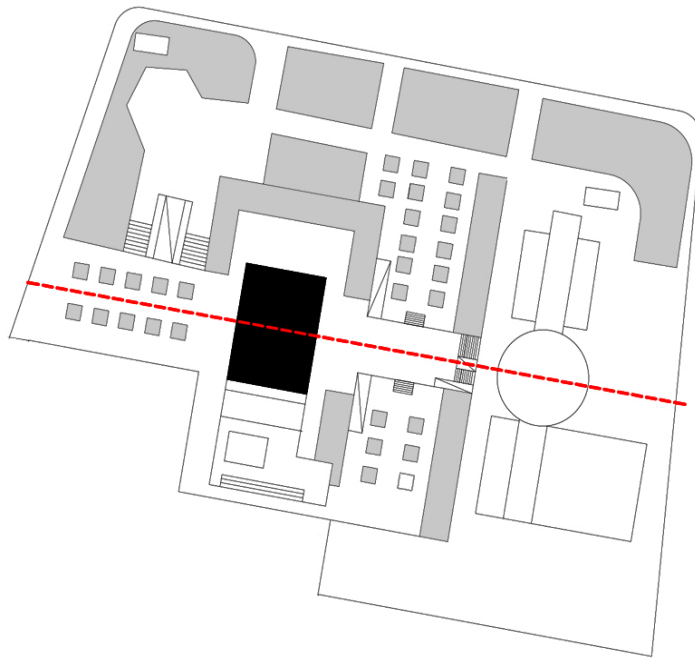


Fig 4-32 A street-shape space with a clear destination--the gate in the end of the axis attract people move towards it

4.3.2.2 Characters of 2 most popular square

The most popular square among 5 cases is Gulou Square and Hanzhongmen Square. There are 2 reasons to make them more active than other squares, one is they have more subspaces, is another they are 'sitable' square.

Subspaces

As stated before, edges are essential elements to make an active square. Since in squares of Nanjing, the important edge--periphery of a square is negative, to make edges inside a square is significant for the vitality of this square. Dividing the square into sub-spaces is a common method architects prefer to make inertia edges.

Main users of square in Nanjing could be classified into 4 categories: square dancers, kids, old people who wish to find a place to play poker or chess or talking with other people, old people wish to spend some time to sit in outdoor. Different groups of users have different requirement towards space: for square dances, they need place without obstacle, with hard pavements and adequate space; for kids, their needs are similar to square dancers, and a space with slope will be greatly welcomed by them; for old people who wish to find a place to play poker or chess or talking with other people, they need seats which could sit together with several people, better have trees or other shelters to offer shade in sunburnt days; for old people wish to spend some time sit in outdoor, some prefer relatively secluded space while some like sitting in open area. Therefore, squares contain various spaces could fulfill their needs have higher utilization, vice versa.

Gulou Square was divided into 6 subspaces, they attract different groups of users during a day. (Refer to Fig4-15) This is a reason Gulou Square keeps higher utilization. Hanzhongmen Square is also constituted by several subspaces, there are 7 subspaces in with different characters, which could fulfill needs of various groups.

Seats

Gulou Civic Square may not be an elegant place but it is a ‘sitable’ space, the architects design kinds of seats based on human needs---no matter people prefer to sit alone or with friends, sit in sunshine or in shadow, they could always find what they need here. Jan Ghel considers seats in square could be classified into primary seating and secondary seating; primary seating means benches and chairs, for more demanding categories of users; secondary seating is in the form of stairways, pedestals, steps, low walls, boxes, and so on, are needed for times when the demand for seating is particularly great. (2006/2011, P159-161) In Gulou Square, there are a few benches and chairs in the west part of the square, most of the seats are constituted by secondary seating—low walls of parterre, barriers for tree protection, rails for slope. (Fig4-33) As the architect said, their design concept is nothing but ‘based on human needs’.

In Hanzhongmen Square, there are adequate primary seating consisted by stools, benches, and chairs. Although there are various of secondary seating like low walls of parterre, barriers for tree protection, the utilization is relatively low. (Fig4-34)

From the study of the most popular squares among study subjects, Gulou Square and Hanzhongmen Square have similar merits that attract more users: subspaces with different characters to fulfill needs of different people; more seats to make more people stay.



Fig 4-33 Primary seats and secondary seats in Gulou Square

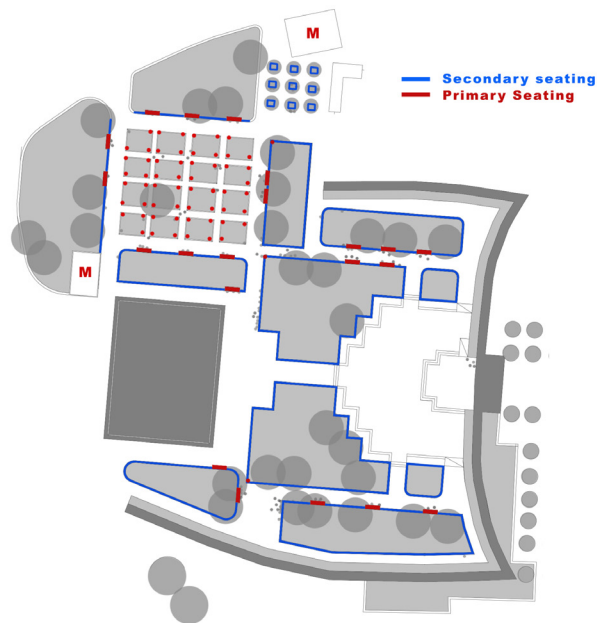


Fig 4-34 Primary seats and secondary seats in Hanzhongmen Square

4.3.2.3 Trees/shadow

Living in one of the ‘Three Furnaces’²², it is uncomfortable, sometimes unbearable for people to take outdoor activities under the sunshine in summer and some days in spring and autumn. As for Marcus and Francis, when the temperature is higher than 23.89°C , some shades should be provided. (1976, P26) In a city have minimum 4 month’s average temperature higher than 23.89°C , to set trees in squares become significant for architects. (Fig4-35)

²²Three furnaces means 3 cities have especially hot and humid weather in summer along Yangtze River, they are Chongqing, Wuhan, Nanjing

A comparison of user’s preference in Hanzhongmen Square shows that, in the hottest noon, more people choose to stay in the shadow and less choose to stay in the sunshine compare to the condition of cooler morning. (Fig 4-36) This study was carried in the middle of October when the average temperature is 13.6°C - 22.5°C . Therefore, more trees big enough to offer shade are significant to keep higher utility when temperature is high enough to make people feel unpleasant under the sunshine.

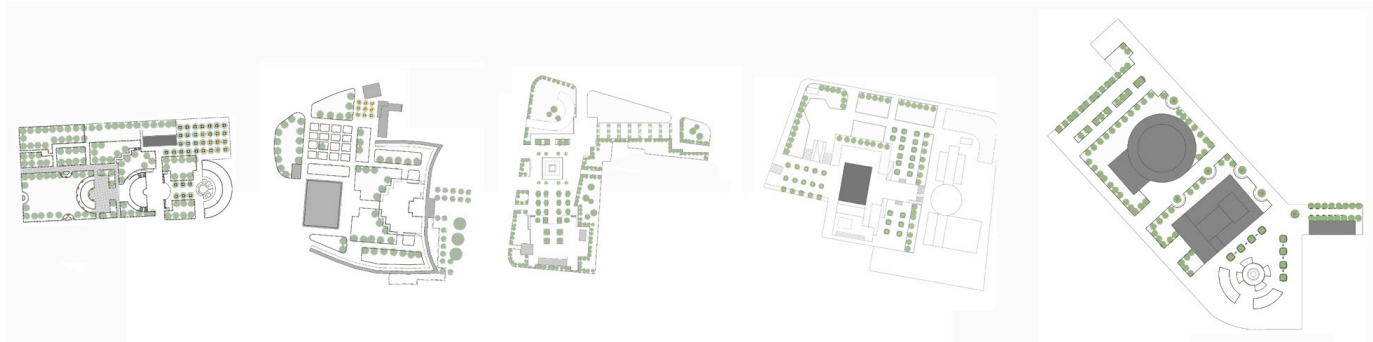


Fig 4-35 trees in five square



Fig 4-36 Population distribution in the morning (left) and in the noon (right)

4.3.2.4 barrier-free design, food, toilet, public program

Barrier-free design

Except Daxinggong Square and Shanxilu Square, which have no level change inside the squares, all other 3 squares have deliberate barrier-free design. Since there are grandparents/parents go to squares for a walk with babies around 9-12am and 15-17:30pm, barrier design becomes important because their needs to use prams. It is possible that these grandparents/parents will not choose a square with level change but without barrier-free design.

Food

William Whyte's observation about Manhattan is that a plaza with food vendor or outdoor restaurant is more likely to attract users than one

without food supply. (2001) In China, the commercial behavior is forbidden in square different with squares in American or Europe. Therefore, there is no café, teahouse or food vendor inside square. But there is food supply near every of the 5 research subjects:

Gulou Square: posh restaurants and Starbucks inside the commercial complex nearby

Hanzhongmen Square: 3 fast food restaurants close to it

Daxinggong Square: luxury restaurant adjacent to it and fast food restaurant inside commercial complex and supermarket nearby

Xi'anmen Square: Seafood restaurant adjacent to it

Shanxilu Square: Fast food restaurant adjacent to it

However, known by questionnaires, most of the users do not care about food or beverage supply, they take drinks here from home and go home for meals. Just quite a few users express their willing to have café/teahouse/food vendor inside the squares, but all of them are young people. This phenomenon means that food is not a fact influencing the utility of a square nowadays but it will be in the future.

Public program

There is a daily program in Gulou Square: a flag raising ceremony at sunset and flag lowering ceremony at sundown. They are carried on every day by 3 handsome honor guards. In 2The ceremony or the handsome honor guards attract about 50 people gathering around stand there and to watch, it creates a peak point on the chart of population change. (Fig4-37) (Chart 1 on page)

There is another case offers evidence that program could influence the utility of square. In a small square outside the 5 research subjects, Trade Union of Nanjing organizes outdoor movies in the summer evening, this activity attracts regular gathering in this small square. Therefore, there is the possibility that public program could change the using condition of other squares if it is planned and applied for others.



Fig4-37 flag lowering ceremony in Gulou Square

4.3.3 Conclusion

In this research, location does not act as a key fact to influence the utility of 5 squares. But conditions for this research is that all of these 5 cases have ample residential area nearby, excellent/good accessibility and a certain number of public buildings/commercial/offices except Xi'anmen Square. If there are studying subjects located in an area with few residential area or terrible accessibility, it is possible that the conclusion will be different.

Among these 3 elements, public buildings/commercial buildings/offices are the least influential facts for square's utility, as Daxinggong Square has an advantageous location in this term but has lowest using condition. The reason is most of users in square today is residences nearby instead of office workers/customer/citizens using these buildings.

Through comparison of 2 half popular squares—Daxinggong Square and Xi'anmen Square, the number of seats and the shape of spaces are essential to the popularity of a square: seats keep people stay as long as they like; narrow spaces have relation more than 1:3 tend to be a street, give psychological indication to people to keep moving than staying. Comparison of 2 most popular squares—Gulou Square and Xi'anmen Square shows that subspaces could fulfill different groups of people is significant to keep high popularity for a square. These 2 squares also have other merits to attract users, that is they are 'sittabe' spaces: there are plenty of primary seats—chairs, benches and stools, meanwhile, the edge of parterre and barriers for tree protection are designed to be secondary seats.

Trees big enough to offer shades are decisive facts for whether people prefer to stay in hot sunshine days, especially for Nanjing, a national famous city for its hot weather in summer. As for barrier-free design, since there are needs from parents/grandparents to takes babies out with prams, a square with level change but without barrier-free design would be unpopular with this group of people. Foods/beverage ven-

dor in square is forbidden by law. But many young people express their requirements to have teahouse, café or food vendor in square. Therefore, foods/beverage could be a potential influential fact in the future. Programs could create regular people's gathering in squares, but only Gulou Square have daily program among 5 cases.

5 A Study of Popular Activities on Square—Case Study of Nanjing

5.1 What people do on the imported square?

Based on research of Western square, Cai Yongjie (2006) makes a classification of human activities on square: military activity, political activity, religious activity, economic activity, social activity and entertaining activity. But human activities on square were not imported into China along with square, human activities are quite different in Chinese squares.

Fig 5-1 Entertainment activity is the only thing people are allowed to do on Chinese square Source: detail in the list of figure



5.1.1 Political activity

Political activity was the foundation of square's genesis in Ancient Greek, the witness of democracy in Greek polis. It is the agora that makes a town a polis, as Paul Zucker (1959/1970, P31) pointed out. Defined as the sites and settings of public life, and including some notion of 'public space', the public realm ideally functions as a forum for political action and representation (Carmona, Heath, Oc&Tiesdell, 2003,P.109). Nowadays, squares still serve as background for various of political activities like election, parade, demonstration and uprising around the rest of world.

Political activity used to be the main event on Chinese square in Mao's

age, including officially organized and spontaneous organized activities. However, spontaneously organized activity became quite rare after 1989, if it appears somewhere, probably military activities will follow. Only national or official political activities could be found nowadays.

5.1.2 Military activity

The agora of Greek polis was not only used as citizen's gathering but also the military court. Ancient Greeks made decisions of military movement and welcomes the triumphal warriors. (Cai, 2006, P.88) We could know from Alberti's words: 'there ought to be several squares laid out in different parts of the city, some for the exposing of merchandises to sale in time of peace; and others for the exercises proper for youth; and others for laying up stores in time of war'(as cited in Moughtin, 1992/2003, P87), that the renaissance squares are market in peace and storage of military supplies during war. As a national affair, the main military activity in peace today is military parades for ceremonial purpose. In China, usually it will be held in Tian'an men Square of Beijing.

5.1.3 Religious activity

Religion is an indispensable part of every civilization and the main source of spiritual pursuit of some civilizations, like the Catholicism in Medieval time. But in China, religion had never become the main part of people's life, as Derk Bodde (1946, P.293-9) pointed out 'Chinese are not a people for whom religious ideas and activities constitute an important and absorbing part of life. It is ethics (especially Confucian ethics), that provided the spiritual basis of Chinese civilization.'

Religious activity was and still is important part on some Western squares, like St.Peter Square, Mass is celebrated by the Pope at every Sunday and Christmas. Unfortunately, religious activities cannot be traced in Chinese squares, the reasons for this phenomenon is the atheist standpoint of communist, although today personal religion will not be persecuted but still suppressed sometimes. By Regulations for Religious Activities of China (1994) ²³, any religious organizations and believers are forbidden to

²³中华人民共和国宗教活动场所管理条例
宗教活动场所管理条例

preach or distribute brochure in public spaces except registered religious place, which means only temples, mosques, and churches are allowed for religious activities.

5.1.4 Economic activity

Since Homer's age, besides the political function, agoras are also used for marketing purposes. In medieval cities, most of the time, markets equaled as squares. Open markets are still held in European squares and Islamic world today. But in China, commerce is not allowed in squares. There are security guards in most squares, they will drive the vendors away, as well as flyers distributors.

5.1.5 Social Activity

As stated before, gatherings in square should get permission from the government in advance. It is very difficult for non-governmental organizations to held social activities in Chinese squares. Therefore, the government usually organizes the social activities. For example, musical performance in some festivals, especially performance to celebrate the National day (1st, October), Party Day (1st, July) or Army day (1st, August); lantern show in First Full Moon Festival (15th of January by the Chinese Calendar); open air film in summer.

5.1.6 Entertaining Activity

In Chinese square, military and political activities are national issues, religious and economic activities are suppressed, and social activities should be organized under the strict supervision of government. Therefore, entertaining activities become the main theme on Chinese square. But for Chinese, whose tradition and custom were held public events in the streets, have they accustomed to enjoy entertaining activities in the square?

5.2 The daily routine of Nanjing square

As stated in the first chapter, the main methods of this research to collect data are time-lapse photo and film. And afterward, series of analysis including behavior mapping and charts would be done based on the data collection. As a result, a very strange phenomenon was revealed that, although the constitution of square users and their activities are changing from time to time, but shows consistent stability day by day, roughly following a timetable. However, they are not formally organized.

5.2.1 Constitution of user

5.2.1.1 Regular change of user constitution

The variation of square user's constitution and quantity day by day in Nanjing is quite regular when the weather condition is suitable for outdoor activities. Squares are dynamic from sunrise to around 21:30 in the evening; from 19:30-20:00 is the peak time of them while dinnertime is the lowest point. However, at anytime most of the users are old people. Since during workdays, young people have to go to work and will not have time to spend on the square, both weekends and workdays are chosen to collect data. Unfortunately, even in weekends, squares are occupied by old people. (Table 1)

Even a lot of the children come here with their grandparents. The proposition and company of old people in children's family are the important reason for their attendance in the square, without the old, children's quantity in the square would decrease in great deal.

Conditions are not totally same in different squares, for example, there are more children in Shanxilu Square and Hanzhongmen Square during 9:00-12:00 A.M., less old people in Daxinggong Square during 14:00-17:30 P.M, but the tendency of population change during a day is roughly similar. (Chart 1)

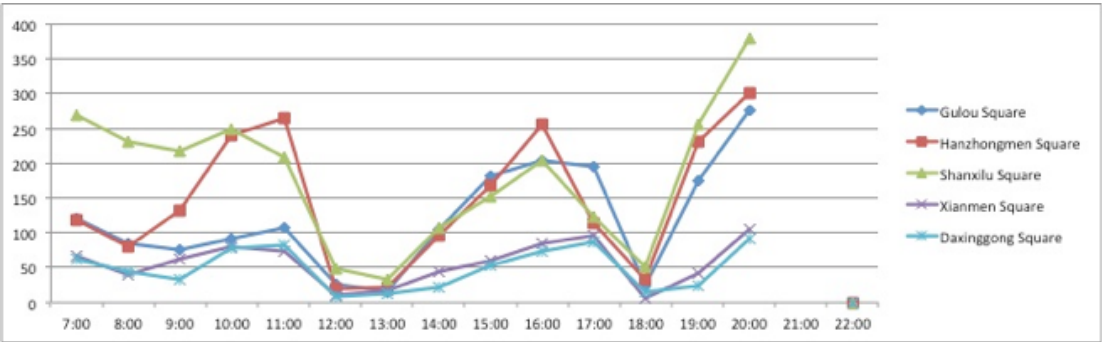


Chart 5-1 population during a day in 5 squares

Sunrise-9:00	9:00-12:00	12:00-14:00	14:00-17:30	17:30-19:30	19:30-21:30
Old people	Old people	Old people	Old people	Old people	Old people
Office worker	Mother Children	Office worker	Mother Children	Office worker Children	Parents Children Teenage

Table 5-1 The main user in open spaces in different time

5.2.1.2 The youth--the minority on square

The peak time of young people’s appearance is in the morning before 9:00 A.M, they come to square for a shortcut on their way to work. (Chart 2) In the rest time of the day, most of the young people appear in the square are young mother come here accompany with their children. (Chart 3) There are office workers in the noon (12:00-14:00) and evening (around 17:00-17:30) come for rest and relax, but not too much. Depend on the location, some squares may have more young people stay there, like Shanxilu Square, there is more work places around this square, thus it have more young user than others.

Chart 5-2: Constitution of Square User Between 8:00-8:30

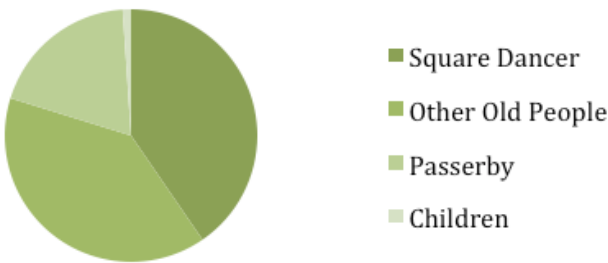
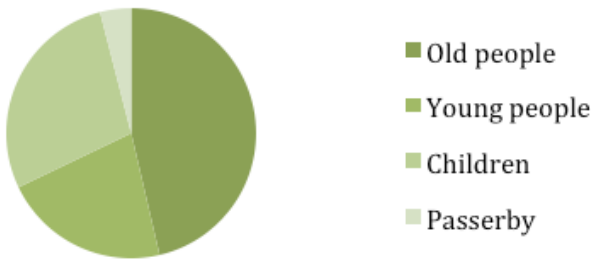


Chart 5-3: Constitution of Square User 16:30-17:00



5.2.1.3 The old—the majority on square

As for the old, their appearance in the square has 2 characters different from others: high frequency and long duration.

In Gulou Square, 90% of the respondents among old people said they come here almost every day whenever the weather condition is favorable; conditions are similar to other squares. However, for young people, their appearance would not be a daily affair. Even in very cloudy or small shower day, some old people are still there, while young people and children would not appear.

The duration of old people's stay is relatively long comparing with other users, for example, based on observation of 20 old people randomly chosen on Hanzhongmen Square at 9:30 in the morning, 18 of them stay on the square more than 1 hour; the 5 respondents interviewed in 14:00-15:30 leave the square during 16:45-17:10, that means they stay there at least 2.5 hours. While young people come here alone or with friends would leave in 40 minutes; those come with children would stay longer, but no more than 1.5 hours.

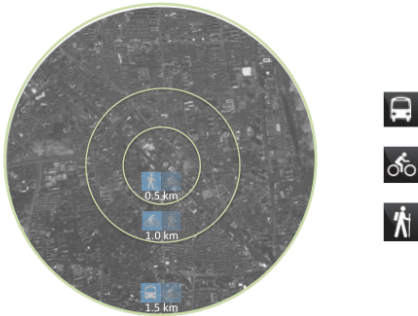


Fig 5-3 Distance between the square and the users' residence, adapted from Google Map

Most of users live a walk distance or bicycle distance ($<1\text{km}$). Although not too much, but there are users come from a remote neighborhood more than 1km. Usually, this part of users have friends or poker partner in the researching square. (Fig5—3)

Persistently and on time, what do these old people come to squares for?

5.2.2 Classification of popular activity

The answer to the question at the end of last part is that old people come to squares every day mainly for 2 things: one is the square dance, another is 'Liu-wan'. (Fig 5—4, 5—5) (Table 5—2)

Square dance is a kind of group dance mainly performed by middle-aged

Table 5-2

	Square Dancer	Other old people	Young people	Children	Passerby
Sunrise-9:00	Dance Martial dance Radio calisthenics	Walk Walk dogs Sit and do nothing Sit and chat	Rest		Shortcut
9:00-12:00		Walk their grandchildren Sit and do nothing Sit and chat.	Walk their children	Walk with guardian Play with other children	Shortcut
12:00-14:00		Sit and do nothing Sit and chat.	Rest		Shortcut
14:00-17:30		Sit and do nothing Sit and chat Play poker or chess	Walk their children	Walk with guardian Play with other children	Shortcut
17:30-19:30		Walk their grandchildren Sit and do nothing Sit and chat Play poker or chess	Walk their children	Walk with guardian Play with other children	Shortcut
19:30-21:30	Dance	Walk Walk dogs Sit and do nothing Sit and chat Watch the square dancer	Date Rest	Walk with guardian Play with other children	Shortcut

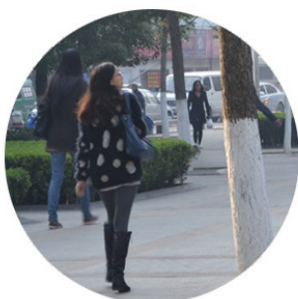
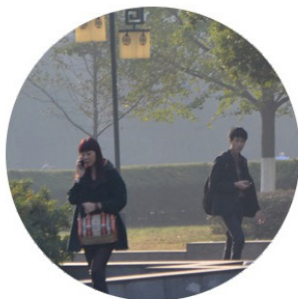
Number of people

>100	70-50	50-30	30-20	20-10	<10
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Old people Office worker

Old people Mother Children

Old people
Office worker



Sunrise

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14



Fig 5-2 Time line of daily activities in square



Fig 5-6,5-7,5-8 Square Dancer (Top); Liu-wan (Center); Young people taking rest in square (Bottom)

and old women, including line dance, martial dance and radio calisthenics. It is a prevalent phenomenon and problem nationwide. Square dancers come to square mainly in the morning before 9:00 and the evening after 19:30. Usually, there are several groups in one square, and they have ‘fixed’ place based on general agreements through negotiation between groups. This is the origin of social contradiction they caused: if the square has been divided by them, where should other people stay if they want a break here? Besides, they usually use a portable CD player for music in very large volume. Their behavior makes them quite unwelcomed by other people. (Fig5—6)

‘Liu-wan’ is a combination of numbers of activities and impossible to find an English word as its translation. Its age is much older than square in China. ‘Liu-wan’ roughly means walk after meal, includes the small gathering during their routes; sometimes the small gathering is formed randomly, acquaints meet accidentally and begin to talk, sometimes they have a certain meeting point; some of them take birds with them in the morning, some of their gatherings aim to play chess or poker. Although ‘Liu-wan’ is a dialect of Beijing, but it is used nationally today and people of Nanjing are doing the similar thing with people of Beijing, thus in this research, this word is used to describe the complex activities in Nanjing square. (Fig5-7)

Take Gulou Square as an example, the peak time of square dancer and ‘Liu-wan’ is 19:30-21:30 in the evening. There are many of them in the morning as well. As for young people, most of them come here for their children, to create opportunities for them to play with other children. Young people who come here for rest or relax are quite rare, some of them are working nearby, and another of them is waiting for appointments. (Fig5-8)

Another question may appear, why do they go to square every day?



Fig 5-4 The square dancer and Liu-wan in the morning around 8:00



Fig 5-5 The square dancer and Liu-wan in the morning around 20:00

5.3 How the unique scene of square was formed

5.3.1 Possible origin—propaganda for the new regime

1 the Chinese custom of altering dance style as a new dynasty was established

In Confucian's age, state events and human behavior were strictly constrained by 'Li (礼)', this word how an ideal society should be operated. It contains regulation of ceremony, cloth classification by hierarchy, rules of social intercourse, a man's responsibility towards others, etc.. These standards are recorded in Confucianism books like 'the Book of Rites(礼记)' and 'Anelects(论语)'. Known from these books, dance is a significant part of national ceremonies and reflection of hierarchy. Ritual dances were performed to pay respect and appreciation to ancestor or god; group dances composed by 64 men could only be used by the king, while dukes, marquis, counts, viscounts, and barons could have 48 dancers' performance.

Although Confucianism was accepted as the mainstream of social ideology in most dynasties, once there was dynasty alteration, standards of ceremonies, dances, and courtesy, cloth changed as well. (Shen Kuo, 1086—1093)²⁴ Even the communist could leave this custom behind, when the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, a vernacular dance 'Yang-ge' was chosen to be the tool for propagandas of the new regime. Writer Hu Lancheng used to describe the scene: it is a tradition to have new dances when a new dynasty established, so today Yang-ge spreads all over the country.²⁵ (As cited in Li, 2014, Para.4)

2 From Yang-ge to Square Dance

Yang-ge literally means the song of cereal, is a kind of vernacular dance performed by peasants to celebrate the harvest, performed to pay appreciation to the god of earth and cereal. It was also an entertainment of peasants during the break of their farming, basically prevailing in

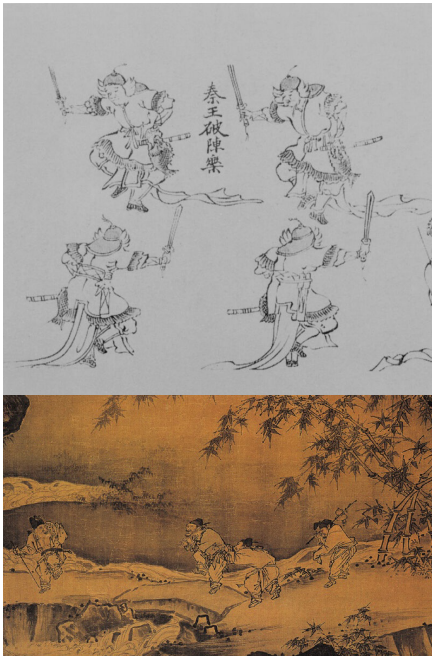


Fig 5-9 Top: Martial dance to pay admiration to an emperor Source: 秦王破阵乐舞图, 中国戏剧史讲义(2015/11修订)

Bottom: Vernacular dance of peasants Source: Ma Yuan, Dancing and Singing—Peasants returning from work, 1160-1125, ink on silk, 192.5*111cm, Beijing Palace Museum

²⁴ 沈括, 梦溪笔谈, 制衣冠礼乐。

²⁵ 从来民间起兵皆有歌舞, 如四面楚歌, 今之遍地秧歌舞, 而且一代之兴, 每改服色, 其来历便是如此……

the northern part of China before PRC. Usually, the traditional ‘Yang-ge’ was performed by tens to hundreds of people. They perform history or mythology stories while parading, accompanied with festival music.

Column writer and critic Li Xi believed it is the origin of square dance. It was selected to be a tool of political propaganda and promoted nationwide since 1942 by the communist headquarter in Yan’an. (Li Xi, 2014) In 1942, Mao made a speech in ‘Yan’an Forum’ (a meeting with artist and writer), to ask artist and writer work on the behalf of revolution and looking for inspiration from vernacular culture. According to Mao’s speech, a New Yang-ge movement initiated by the local government afterward. Political elements were added to those new issued Yang-ge dramas, which match the ideology of Mao’s government. (Li Xi, 2014) The spontaneous dance of peasants was transformed into the tool for political propaganda.

New Yang-ge got enormous achievement around the newly established red-regime. Li described that in the beginning of PRC, all the social movements, reforms and revolutions are promoted along with the happy atmosphere created by Yang-ge. In the ‘Cambridge History of China’, it is recorded that amongst young people who join the parade, it was fashionable to learn and perform Yang-ge. (As cited in Li, 2014, para4)(Fig5-10)

During culture revolution in the 60s and 70s, a new kind of group dance called ‘loyalty dance’ emerged, which means ‘we will devote our loyalty to Chairman Mao forever’. People who refused to engage this activity would be accused as ‘anti-revolution’ (despite there is not any relation between dance and revolution). Dance became the new tool for propaganda instead of New Yang-ge. (Fig5-11)

Since the 80s of last century, after a long period of political suppression and totalitarian, people who were seeking individuality and personality gathering in squares or parks to dance. However, as the government realized that as a tool to control ideology, dances in public space should not out of control. Dance groups were organized and supervised by government afterward. (Li Xi, 2014,para7)



Fig 5-10 Top: Traditional Yang-ge is about historical stories, photo by Leng Yu(冷雨)

Bottom: New Yang-ge is a tool of political propaganda, photo by Wu Yinxian(吴印咸)



Fig 5-11 Top: Loyalty dance during Cultural Revolution Source: cited by Sina Blogger @老绥远韩氏 Bottom: Square dance of today Source: 中舞网综合

5.3.2 Promotion—pushed by public power

There was a national campaign between cities since 2005, which official English name is ‘National Civilized City’. The aims of this campaign are to promote progress in urban infrastructure and citizen’s public awareness. There are series of standard to earn this title, for example, this city must have more than 15 art or sport organizations per 5,000 person; over 45% of its population must engage in sport activities and exercise frequently; there must be more than 8 coaches hired by the government and offer free guide to citizens per 10,000 person; there must be more than 8 activities organized by government on square in each district of this city; atmosphere of public space like parks and square must be harmonious. (The evaluation standard for national civilized city, 2005)

³⁶关于引导广场舞活动健康开展的通知

Under the pressure of evaluation standard, some smart bureaucrats found square dance is the perfect solution to achieve the goal set up for ‘civilized city’: it organize people go exercising regularly but costs very small budget. (Li Xi, 2004) From 2010, Heilongjiang Provincial Sports Bureau organized training lectures for public hired coaches, this is the beginning of state interference on the promotion of square dance. In Match of 2015, National Bureau of Sport published 12 choreographed dances. 6 months later, Ministry of Culture, Nation Bureau of Sport, Ministry of Civil Affairs and Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development published a joint announcement²⁶ to require municipal governments assure fair environment for square dance. With promotion and surveillance of governments, the originally spontaneous square dance became a massive movement nationwide. (The announcement for guiding better square dance, 2015)

5.3.3 Transformed tradition--street culture

Since squares have never been a tradition of China and it was developed rapidly since the 90s of last century along with the drastic change of Chinese society, the custom about how a square is used today were generated in decades, makes it a perfect issue of ‘invention of tradi-

tion'. (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) However, these customs are not generated from no-where, they have the relationship with traditional public life.

As stated in 2nd chapter, the traditional public life of China is street culture. A representative character of street culture is Liu-wan. This word means walk after meals and plus activities may generate on their way of walking, for example, gathering for appreciating homebred bird, chess competition, gossip meeting, etc.. It used to be an important part of citizen's social intercourse. There is even a proverb said: a person has the custom of 'walk after meal' could live as long as 99.

Small gatherings on streets could still be traced in some historical area of Nanjing (Fig5-12), but the streets people used to stay are disappearing rapidly along with the government's aspiration to build an 'international city'. Nowadays, it has been very difficult to find a street in Nanjing and other big cities, streets for people have become roads for vehicle transportation.

When the traditional public spaces were replaced by the new, public life begins to transform from 'street culture' to 'square culture'. (Fig5-13) Those people accustomed to walk in the morning and evening chose square as their new gathering point. Known from interviews, many of them come to square almost every day and some person stays there almost whole day except the lunch and supper time. They even give a nickname for their presence in square as 'on duty'.

5.4.4 Residue of Mao's era—collectivism

In a study made by WANG Qianni of square dances, she pointed out that there are nearly 1 million square dance enthusiasts in China today; these women spent a lot of energy and money on dressing up before they go to the square, and they enjoy the attention of 'male gaze'. (2014)

Known from Wang's study, the main incentive drive those women to square dance is loneliness: some of them have problematic marriage--

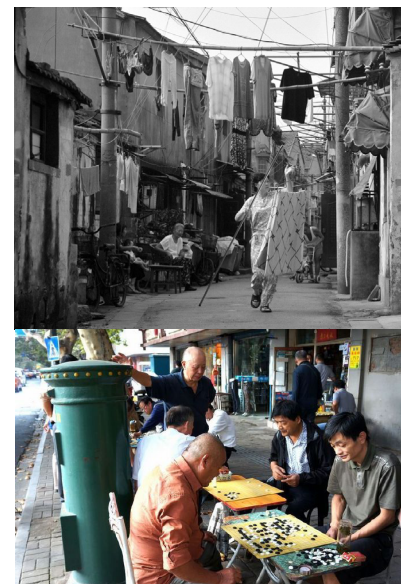


Fig 5-12 The remaining street culture in Nanjing Source: photo by 老兵新摄



Fig 5-13 some activities took place on street have transformed to square Source: Left, photo by photofans blogger @加贝风 Right, photo by author

their husband is having an affair or work in another city; another's children's leave home for university or job; certainly some of them have both husband and children problem. The square dance team offers them a warm community to comfort each other. (Wang, 2014)

Hannah Arendt pointed out that loneliness is essential for collectivism, 'the mass-meeting is the strongest form of propaganda...[because] each individual feels more self-confident and more powerful in the unity of a mass'. (1951,P357) This seems to be an explanation for the unique phenomenon of Chinese square dance. However, loneliness is a universal problem, there are lonely people everywhere. Why loneliness produces collective activity like the square dance rather than others? In Sun Xiaoji's point of view, different societies forge adaptive collectivist personality accordingly. (2014) The unique scene of collective dance in Chinese square grows out the soil of China's peculiar past.

²⁷Mao expressed this opinion the speech in Xibaipo of 1949 (在西柏坡七届二中全会上的讲话); it also could be found in 'a letter to red guards of Qinghua high school', 1966.

Square dancers are mainly women over 50. (Zhao Pengcheng, 2014) This generation was born in the 50s and 60s, grow up in 60s and 70s—exactly the period of great suppression on human individuality in Mao's age. Mao had an ambition to 'smash the old world and establish a red new world'.²⁷ (1949 and 1966) Radical revolutions including Culture Revolution he launched after 1949 are methods he chose to fulfill his ambition, which makes people who born in the 50s or 60s become victims of his social experiment. (Fig 5-14)

To sweep the whole country with political movements, Mao needs absolute power. Then collectivism becomes excellent helper on his way to gain power. As Hannah Arendt pointed out: The "collectivism" of masses was welcomed by those who hoped for the appearance of "natural laws of historical development" which would eliminate the unpredictability of the individual's actions and behavior. (1951,P346)

When people indulged themselves in the passion of mass-meeting, they could escape from loneliness but sacrifice their personality and individuality (Sun Xiaoji, 2014). In Gustave Le Bon's 'the crowd', he gives a notion of what makes a crowd: A numerically strong agglomer-

ation of individuals does not suffice to form a crowd, the ordinary sense the word “crowd” means a gathering of individuals of whatever nationality, profession, or sex, and whatever be the chances that have brought them together... An agglomeration of men presents new characteristics very different from those of the individuals composing it. (1895, P1) In Mao’s age, people are volunteered or forced to engage the political movement and conduct collective life in the large groups became ‘the crowd’ in Le Bon’s notion.

Nowadays, although people are no longer forced to engage mass political meetings anymore, those who spent more than 10 years of youth in ‘the crowd’ for those absurd movements still alive. A large part of them still miss the period of collective activities. Although today they have the freedom to be ‘individual’, they still choose to stay in the crowd of squares. Although loneliness might be the reason people searching for social intercourse, the residue of collectivism is the primary causes forms square dance.

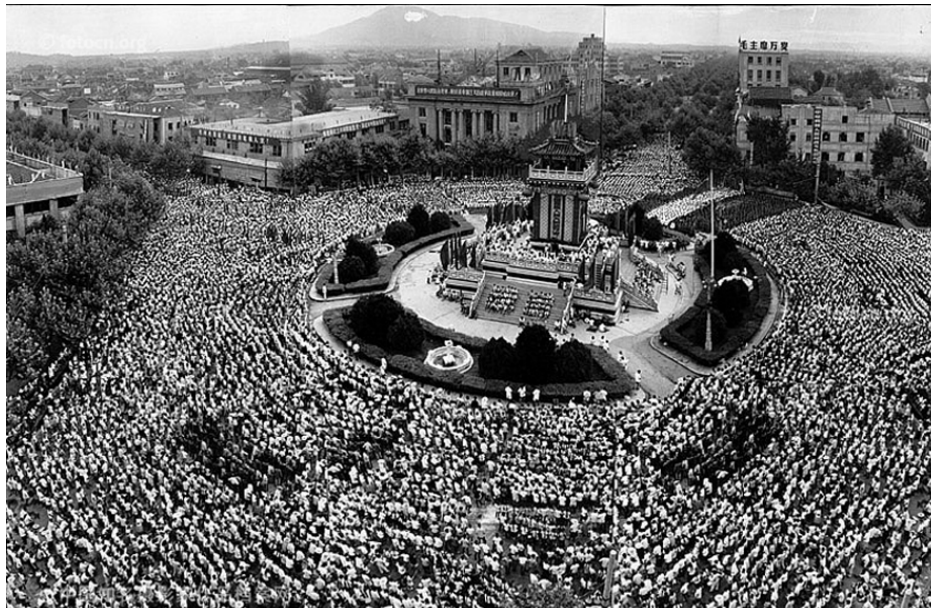


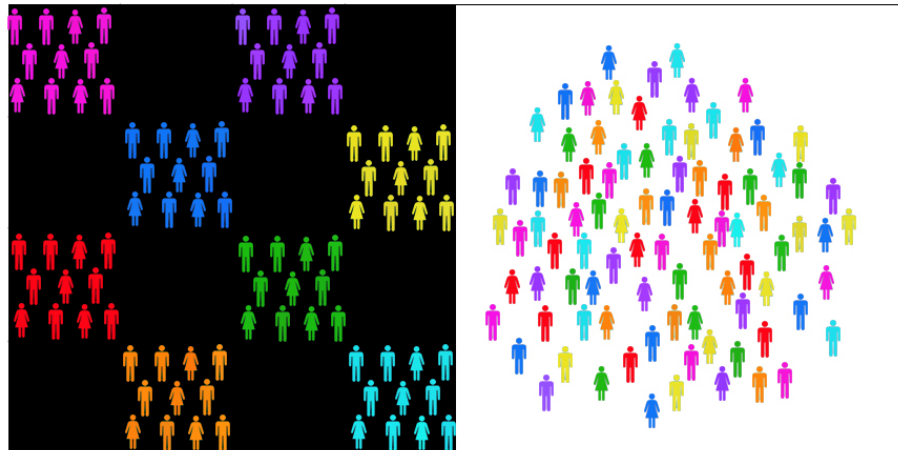
Fig 5-14 Political movement in Xinjiekou Square, Nanjing in 11/08/1964
Source: cited by Nanjing chorography

5.3.5 Changes of social structure—from Dan-wei to community

As stated in 2nd chapter, Dan-wei is a political organization rather than an economic organization. As David Bray (2005) pointed out, it is a Chinese version of 'Pastoral-flock' governmentality. Dan-wei is the only access people could get food ration and social welfare. Before China's economic reform, Dan-wei means a person's status and relationship in the society; the collapse of Dan-wei means the breakdown of an old social structure and establishment of a new one.

A Dan-wei people's life was framed inside those gated and self-contained communities, their social interaction, and connection are limited by the social status 'Dan-wei' brings to them. They work with colleagues in the workplace, eat with colleagues in the canteen, have entertainment with colleagues in the activity center and their neighbors are colleagues. However, accompanied with the collapse of Dan-wei, they were forced to transform from 'people in Dan-wei' to 'people in society'. (Fig5-15)

Fig 5-15 From 'people in Danwei' to 'people in society'



The enormous change of people's social state makes lots of them feel disoriented; those people miss the day of collectivism life. Since in China, NGO is strictly restricted. In this case, square dance became a remedy to reunite the public relationship in society and construct a new

community. (Zhang Tianpan, 2014, para8) Zygmunt Bauman consider community as a ‘help each other’ system, it offers feeling of security and comfort to those people. Thus, the role square dance plays in the procession of ‘from Danwei to Community’ is significant. (as cited in Zhang, 2014, para16)

5.3.6 Generation gap between the youth and the old

5.3.6.1 Complain from young generation

Since the 80s of last century, a prevalent notion in China is ‘detachment’. It means detach individuals from collectivism. (Yan Yunxiang, 2009) Since then, individuality and personality began to revive. For those Chinese born in the end and after Mao’s era, have quite a different attitude about public life with the elder.

Young people constituted a very small part of the square population in China, they just go to squares for a break occasionally. Known from field study and questionnaire, most of them think Chinese squares are unattractive for several reasons: the first is they think the noisy ‘square dancing aunties’ occupied too much space; the second is they feel uncomfortable to be surrounded by old people, therefore they try to avoid present during peak time; the third is they think squares prefer to have some café or tearoom in square, but unfortunately commerce is not allowed in square. Besides, some of them are quite unsatisfied with squares’ condition since the government spent large budget to built square, but they are mainly used for square dance, they think it’s a waste of taxpayer’s money.

The behavior code in public space today is to respect individualist’ freedom and avoid violation of other people’s freedom. But for the old who used to stay in the crowd refused to reconcile with other groups, ‘an individual may accept contradiction and discussion; a crowd will never do so’. (Gustave Le Bon, 1895, P25) Their behavior made them an unwelcome group on the square. This becomes a huge divergence between the youth who are unsatisfied with square and the old who occupied the square.

However, Zhang Tianpan considers the issue of the square is an excellent chance to inspire Chinese to realize public awareness. (2014) As a national problem that must be solved peacefully, citizens must have negotiations, compromises and reconciliations by themselves. In this procession, citizens with public awareness could be formed.

5.3.6.2 A solitude group

Gay's gathering is a special phenomenon in Gulou Square. Before internet and bar or pub became the main method to fulfill homosexual social needs, the public spaces they usually hunting for partners is parks, public baths, and toilets. For example, Dongdan Park in Beijing. (Li & Wang, 1992) Gulou square case is quite unique on the list posted in a homosexual BBS.

Since when they found this place is suitable for partner haunting cannot be traced. In the homosexual research by Li Yinhe and Wang Xiaobo, the public toilet is an important gathering place for this Chinese homosexual group. (Li & Wang, 1992) Thus, the toilet in Gulou Square might be the reason that attracts gay. Besides, this toilet is quite inconspicuous since it is located behind tree hedge (Fig 5-16)



Fig 5-16 The public toilet in Gulou Square and the roughly area gay stay

The attitude of Chinese government towards homosexuality is 'no approve, no against, no support'. But they use to order Chinese mobile operator to block social software popular among gay, like Jack'd, Blued and Grindr. In this condition, the government's tolerance of gay gathering in squares or parks sounds amazing, especially comparing with the democratic movement which under extremely suppression in China.

They formed a solitude group on the square because they only interact inside their group. Since there are more people getting to understand and support this group, especially among educated young people, maybe one day, they could enjoy public life openly instead of under the tree.

6 Conclusion

6.1 From street to square

From 1870 to the beginning of 21st century, China experienced drastic transformation—the death of empire, the establishment of republic regime, everlasting war, regime change, Mao's dictatorship, Cultural Revolution, coup d'état, economic reform. In the procession of those transformations, the traditional public space, and public life was reconstructed. A significant example is the death of street culture and street life, and the appearance of square.

Before square was imported to China, the main public life of China is street culture and market culture. (Wang, 2003) Square was introduced to China along with the construction of foreign concessions after the Opium War II, but it did not have influences on Chinese urban design at that time. The beginning of China's ideological transformation and national modernization is China's failure of the first Sino-Japanese war. The foundation of Chinese ideology and philosophy--Confucianism was doubted and questioned. Meanwhile, Darwin's Theory of Evolution was introduced to China and appreciated by social elites and reformers; furthermore, Social Darwinism prevailed nationwide. (Jin Guantao and Liu Qingfeng, 1993)

These 2 drastic ideological transformations became the stimulus of radical reform and revolution in the coming hundreds of years: western culture was considered as 'higher potential culture' since then (Chen, 2002). Therefore, for the purpose of more 'scientific city', the public space was reconstructed in the procession of social reform: since square and park was the center of public life in Western cities and was considered as a more 'progressing' and 'advantageous' public space, the traditional and lively street life disappear gradually in urban modernization.

6.2 Square design before the ‘golden age’ of square

Squares of capital regime

To build a great capital for the new capital, in 1927, a committee led by Henry K. Murphy and including the first generation of Chinese architects who received the western education was organized to make Capital Plan. The main idea of them is to build a city like Washington D.C, which has boulevard and the radiating square of Paris. (Cody,2003) As for the design of square, the Reconstruction Planning Committee tried to create a new style with oriental aesthetic. But none of the architects wish to do something to continue the tradition of Nanjing’s street culture. This plan was not totally realized because the burst of Sino-Japan war II.

Squares in Mao’s era

In this period, China was ruled by dictator Mao. Function and form of the square were significantly influenced by the leader’s wish. Since 1953, Mao wishes all Chinese people to study the Soviet Union’s experience. Thus, when modernism was the central theme of architecture in the rest of the world, Chinese architects began to study from Soviet Union. Despite Sino-Soviet split since 1960, the Soviet-style has great influence in the design of square later. The ‘socialistic symbols’ (red stars, statues of worker, peasant and national leader, torch) and the symmetrical character were kept and used broadly in the squares built later. (Yuan, 2012)

In this period, political life was the center of public life, while squares were designed for political gathering. Absurd dramas were performed frequently in those political squares: people were gathered together to worship Mao or torture Mao’s ‘enemy’.

6.3 Squares of Post-Mao era

The rejection to communicate with the rest of world and influence of Soviet Union in Mao’s era, caused a period of independent development in China. Although the localized system of architecture educa-

tion, ‘socialized’ method of urban design leaves many problems, there was opportunities for architects to find original solutions to deal with urban problems of China in a different way.

Designer

Square construction showed great prosperity since 1996, but since the relatively secluded environment and few square practice in the past, there were rare architects have experiences for square design comparing to the sudden and large needs of square design. The inadequacy of experienced architect, systematical training in university and suitable reference was the disadvantage for square design but is an opportunity for architects to find original solutions to deal with the special urban problem of China.

Localized Beaux-arts education caused the prevailing of mannerism, it makes students believe, it is essential to choose a suitable reference and imitate related elements for the purpose of a successful design. (Gu, 2007) The importation of Post-modern theory in the 80s makes further prevailing of mannerism. Meanwhile, contextualism was reinterpreted in a Chinese way—usually architects imitate elements of traditional building to show ‘respect of context’.

Similarity of selected cases

The most obvious character of squares in Nanjing is the irregular shape of them. The irregular plans those squares are not planned with surrounding building together but formed in the procession of urban evolution.

Another character is that the shapes of squares are amorphous, there is no clear edge defined by surrounding building. It was caused by Chinese regulations of land use classification, fire protection, sunshine distance and so on. It is the reason for other features of squares:

First, the peripheries of squares are inactive frontages and caused empty spaces aside them. People tend to stay in the center of square since there is edges could support their back.

Second, green areas constitute large proportions of square. This is the main method architects use to define square from the environment. Besides, trees could offer shades in hot summer instead of buildings, since along the periphery of squares there are not buildings that could create shades.

In terms of attracting pedestrian, there are similar design methods to ‘whirling’ or ‘turbine’ plan in Nanjing. But ‘whirling’ or ‘turbine’ plan ‘force’ pedestrian into square through the settlement of street, squares of Nanjing attracting pedestrian through shortcuts. However, the strategy is not effective—the main users of squares are different groups with pedestrian pass through it.

What makes a popular square

With similar excellent accessibility, Hanzhongmen square is the most popular square among study subjects while Daxinggong Square is the least popular one; Gulou Square and Shanxilu Square are also welcomed. However, the most popular square has most disadvantageous location among them while the least popular square the best. That means location is important but not the complete prerequisite for a popular square.

Through the comparison of 2 half popular square--Daxinggong Square and Xi'anmen Square, people will stay where seats were settled. Other flaws of space could be tolerated if there are seats. Spaces without seats may attract people if it is a relatively secluded space that offers the feeling of safety. But a narrow and street-shape space will drive people moving through this place.

From the study of the most popular squares: Gulou Square and Hanzhongmen Square, they are more popular than others because there have more subspaces with different characters to fulfill needs of different people, and there are more seats to make more people stay.

Ghost of collectivism

Although Mao's era has ended for 40 years, residues of this period still influence urban life today. For example, the square dance is the ghost of collectivism. Those old people gathering on square today experienced great suppression on human individuality in Mao's era, they still choose to stay in the crowd today.

6.4 Square practice of recent years—2 projects of Urbanus in Shenzhen

It has been 20 years after the booming year for square construction in 1996, in these 20 years, architectural environment, education in universities and architects' design philosophy have changed a great deal. For the term of design philosophies transformation, it reflects more among those architects who have ever studied abroad.

Luohu Wenjin Garden Plaza and Sungang Central Plaza are typical cases to reflect these transformations. Both of them were designed by Urbanus, which established in 1999 by Liu Xiaodu, Meng Yan and Wang Hui.

Luohu Wenjin Garden Plaza, Shenzhen, 2011

This plaza of 4,800m² located in Luohu district of Shenzhen, cost of construction is 3,150,000¥, roughly equals to 428,790€ by the exchange rate of 2011. The site was occupied by plants in the past 10 years. Lacking of appropriate management and maintenance, this site became a secluded and passive corner of the city. 'The purpose of this design is to create fair opportunities to access public space for pedestrians encourage people to form their own habits to use this space'. (Wu, Meng & Lin, 2013)

The flowing and directive shapes inside the space are adjusted by the distribution of trees planted in the site, aims to offer a special experience when people pass through it. (Wu, et al., 2013) Except benches, short walls around trees are designed to serve as seats. The fabric of pavement in the middle area is the urban structure of Luohu district.

There are many pipes remaining in the site, Italian artist Hitness do some painting on them, those pipes became artwork meanwhile keeps linkage to the past.

Fig6- 1 bird view of the site source: Luohu Wenjin Gaedern Plaza, landscape architecture, 04/2013



Fig 6-2 pavement decorated with urban fabric source: Luohu Wenjin Gaedern Plaza, landscape architecture, 04/2013



Fig 6-3 art work of Hitness source: Luohu Wenjin Gaedern Plaza, landscape architecture, 04/2013



Sungang Central Plaza, Shenzhen, 2007

Sungang Central Plaza is on the edge of Sungang District of Shenzhen, this area is a combination of logistic, warehouse, transportation, commercial center and residential area. It locates in the intersection of 2 main roads, has excellent physical accessibility and visual permeability.

Inspired by the natural texture of earth, the whole surface of the site is covered with one coherent skin of undulating strips, which resembles the water tides flowing up and down. (Urbanus Architecture, 2007) Oases of flowerbeds are inserted randomly into these strips, to create 'enclaves in the chaotic surroundings'.

In a study made by Wang Peng in 2010, he found that during 12:00-16:00 the main user of this square is people who are looking for a job since there is a Talent Resources Market in the vicinity, as well as a small group of people working nearby. Residents living nearby come here after 16:00, and the number is going to increase gradually from 16:00 to 20:00.



Fig 6-4 users of Sungang Central Plaza



Fig 6-5 Bird view of the plaza Source: World Architecture, 08/2007

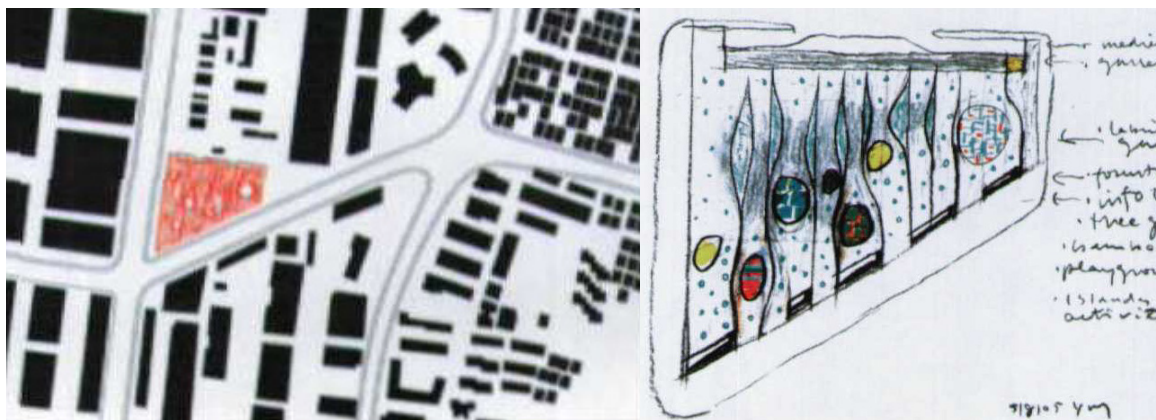


Fig 6-6 Left: urban structure of the site Right: drafts of the design Source: World Architecture, 08/2007

Fig 6-7 the design of urban furniture Source: World Architecture, 08/2007



Different with the historical Nanjing, Shenzhen was developed from a poor village with a population of 300,000 to an influential metropolitan of 1,054,740,000 people in 30 years after China's economic reform. However, limited by urban environment and codes for architecture/urban design, these 2 squares in Shenzhen have 3 similar characters compare to squares in Nanjing:

- 1 These 2 squares have irregular shapes and their shapes were not designed. Both of the shapes of them have formed before the square design.
- 2 They do not have clear edges defined by surrounding buildings. The shape of them are defined by roads and trees.
- 3 Plants are deliberately designed and planted.

6.5 Finale

The history of Chinese square is quite short compare to the country's long history. Learn from the short history, we could find that ideology is the significant factor in square's emergence and development, design and use; once there is ideological transformation nationwide, square reform will happen.

There are 2 ideas that influence square design most: one is it is widely accepted that foreign culture is 'higher potential culture', this idea makes traditional street culture disappear in the procession of 'modernization', activities carried in street partly move to square or parks; another is the idea of western culture equals to 'imperialism' in Mao's era, which makes Chinese architecture secluded from mainstream of the world for decades, peculiar urban structure and problem are formed in this period, accordingly there are peculiar urban design and square design method to solve these problems. For the relationship between society and square, we may say that social reforms interfere and frame square's form and function; squares reflect the tendency and direction of social, political evolution. Social reformers wish to reform the public space and public life, but finally, the peculiar characters of squares are invented from the past.

Appendix 1 ‘Procession regulated by law’ vs ‘Procession manipulated by people’

Based on an interview of Chief Architect Nanjing Municipal Design and Research Institute Lu Jian.

Today, China has a relatively complete system and procession for tender, competition and construction, there are relevant laws for each procession, for example, the Bidding Law for China’s Republic of China(Jan.1st, 2000), Regulation on the implementation of the Bidding Law for China’s republic of China (Feb.1st, 2012), Urban and Rural planning Law of People’s Republic of China (Jan.1st, 2008), Construction Laws of People’s Republic of China (Mar 1st, 1998) ,etc; there are also local decrees like Decree for Construction Management of Jiangsu (May.8th, 2005), Urban and Rural Planning Decree of Nanjing (Otc.26th, 2012), Regulations for Design of Urban Green(Otc.1st, 2007), etc.

Usually, there are stages for one project by laws and decrees:

The first is bidding stage, this stage is rather complex and involved numbers of departments. Tendering Corporation is the essential role for the organization of this stage. Before investors commission the tendering corporation for a project, they should get official project approval from National Development and Reform Commission. After the project is approved, investors could initiate the bidding stage with tendering company. The tendering company should conceive the bid documents call for bidders, which will be showed in websites authorized by related governmental departments. Some days after the deadline tendering company will organize competition with at least 5 experts as jury, usually winner will be announced on the same day. The last job tendering company should do is to coordinate investors and design company to sign the contract.

By data of Nanjing Municipal Commission of Housing and Urban-rural Development²⁸, there is 174 tendering corporations have business in Nanjing, 72 of them have the first level qualification.

²⁸ 南京市住房和城乡建设委员会

In the second stage, and design company will finalize the manuscript and accomplish the working drawings through several rounds of negotiation with investors (in this case they are the municipal government). The duration of this stage is result of bargain, but usually it won't be very long, for a square,

The third stage is construction stage. The right of construction supervision does not belong to design company but specialized supervision company.

Although this is a complete system protected by quite detailed laws, there are so many bugs when this system implemented by people, not to mention in the 90s and beginning of 21st century----the golden age of square construction, when bidding system of China was quite immature and related laws have not be established. In the 90s and the beginning of 21st, there used to be many strange phenomenon—even absurd, existed in bidding procession, drawing finalization and construction stage:

Bidding Procession

Today, all the bidding information could be found on website authorized by the government, but in the past, especially in the 90s, to find a project is a matter of socialization and relation before the Bidding Law was published. Whenever a company wishes to obtain information about a square project, they must maintain good relationship with certain people working in the government, with normal or abnormal methods. If their relationship is linked to an important people, probably they will be the default winner of bidding----other companies just join the bidding to perform a competition. Moreover, if this relationship or friendship is strong enough, it is quite possible that this project will be commissioned directly to this company.

The Bidding Law of the People's Republic of China was released in Feb.1st, 2000. By the 3rd subsection of it, all the projects of urban infrastructure and public space should have public bidding unless this

project needs special techniques that very limited people or company could be competent---in this circumstance, inviting bidding should be taken; by the 5th subsection of it, the bidding procession must be fair. However, default winner and performing competition still exist today.

By 37th subsection of Bidding Law, the jury for competition should contain at least 5 people, and at least 2/3 of the jury should be experts of related area. The experts will be chosen randomly by a database. This database has specialized branch of discipline today, but in the golden age of square design, all the experts related to architecture and urban design was mixed together. Selected from this kind of database, a square bidding might have a structural engineer or water supply engineer as the jury.

Drawing Finalization

This is always an exhausted and inefficient stage complaining by many designers in public projects like square. As the investor of square projects, the municipal government will organize a workgroup to communicate with the design company, sometimes the mayor himself will be the group leader for important projects. Since these kinds of work group usually do not have specific work distribution and responsibility system, there is the possibility that different members of the workgroup give a contradictory opinion to designers caused repetitive and time-consuming work for designers. Since too much time is wasted in the design stage, finally left inadequate time for working drawing stage.

Construction Stage

48th bidding law: the bidder could distribute part of insignificant work to other qualified company with permission of investor, but this part of work can not be distributed twice.

By 30th and 31st subsection of Construction Law, square projects should have construction supervision. In square projects, project management company is commissioned by the municipal government to manage every aspect of the construction stage. The project-management company

should be responsible for making sure the construction team works by working drawings. However, for the purpose to get more profits, the construction team may change details of designers working drawing, for example, use aluminum rails instead of a steel one, use different material for pavement, etc. If these tricks will only bring aesthetic problem instead of safety problem, and the project-management company could also get benefits from these tricks, they will turn a blind eye to these behaviors. This is one of the reasons for the humble construction quality of Chinese square.

Appendix 2 Dialogue with Professor Yang Donghui of Southeast University

(Designer of Xi'anmen Square and Daxinggong Square)

Q: Is Xi'anmen Square a commission from government or competition?

A: Competition

Q: How is the condition of Xi'anmen before it was renovated into a square.

A: This gate located inside an armament factory and was used as a warehouse for many years, that factory is state-owned enterprise luckily the managers of this factory have no idea to destroy it. In the 90s the municipal government starts to care about the preservation of historical buildings, since there was no public space in this area, they decided to build a square to show this gate and provide a public space to residents nearby.

Q: Why do you decide to design a sink square?

A: I didn't design the level change of Xi'anmen Square, it is the outcome of archeological excavation. In the 90s, because the level of Nanjing has been higher than in Ming Dynasty, part of the square is buried underground. Therefore, after it was dug out, there was a level change around the gate and city road.

Q: Do you satisfied with the quality of construction?

A: Yes, I think my design is basically realized.

Q: In another project, Daxinggong Square, I found it has fewer seats and fewer users than Xi'anmen Square, how do you think about this humble utility Daxinggong Square?

A: In my point of view, the purpose of these 2 squares is different. For Daxinggong Square, the main purpose to build it is to offer a distance to watch the library and the gate of Presidential Palace. That is the reason that just a small part of Daxinggong Square is suitable to set seats.

Q: What is your opinion of the popular square and unpopular square? What makes a square popular?

²⁹ A tree planted 1,500 years ago by an emperor, now located inside Southeast University

A: It is a difficult question. You could consider this question through 2 cases. One is the small space around 'the Juniperus Chinensis from Six Dynasties²⁹', it is not designed as a square and inside our university, but there are people go there every day. Another case is the square outside the Decathlon in Gulou, it is a square with very low utility.

Q: Probably because the square outside Decathlon hid behind buildings and secluded from the city. There is no visual permeability from the road. And it is too near from Gulou Square, residents nearby have used Gulou Square.

A: You should consider it again after you go back.

Appendix 3 a traditional public space similar to square, which Professor Xue Li of Southeast University mentioned

Professor Xue Li does not fully agree with the opinion of ‘square is imported from Western World’. He mentioned a public space located in Luocheng of Sichuan province have quite similar characters with square.

The public space he mentioned is the main street of this small town, it was built since 1628. It is 209 meters long and the widest part is 9.5 meters wide, the shape of it is like a boat, so it has a nickname as ‘Noah’s Ark of China’. The ground floor of buildings along it is colonnade, offers a shelter from sunshine and rain. Under the colonnade are shops, restaurants, and teahouses. Teahouse was the center of public life for people in Sichuan and still is an important part in their public life today. In the center of this space is a Opera stage, actors/actress perform local opera of Sichuan in festivals, before 1949, those performances were usually organized by the chamber of commerce. The scene of every day’s public life in this public space is just like Wang Di describe in his ‘The Teahouse: Small Business, Everyday Culture, and Public Politics in Chengdu, 1900-1950.

Although this space looks like a square, its name is Chuanxing Street/Liangting Street. This means local residents did not have the idea of square and just built a ‘wider street’. Besides, this boat-shaped space is 209m long but the widest part of it is just 9.5m wide, the proportion of this space makes it tend to be a street.



Fig Appendix 3—2
teahouse under
colonnade source:
Sina blogger@托
斯卡纳TSKN

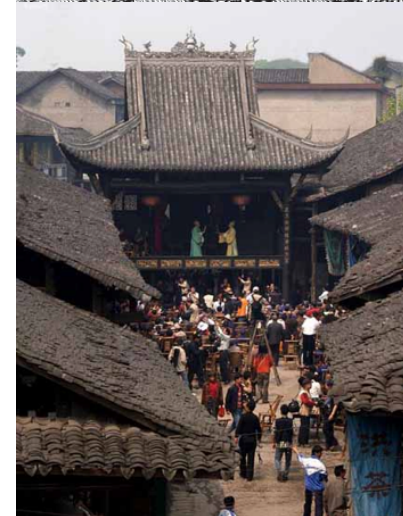
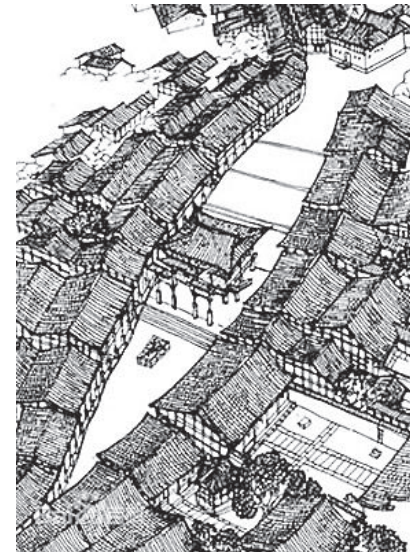


Fig Appendix 3—1 Source: baike.baidu.com

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3 Veduta di Porta Palazzo (D'Ottavio, Archivio GTT,2002) <http://www.gtt.to.it/cms/gtt/galleria-fotografica-cento-anni-di-trasporto-pubblico/517-cronologico-galleria-5>

4 http://www.dw.de/image/0,,16711276_401,00.jpg

5 Voci nel silenzio <http://www.comune.torino.it/cgi-bin/cittagora/exec/view.cgi/1/6247>

6 <http://f002.wudaotv.com/portal/201206/20/0913575ygk6sul57oeyyho.jpg>

Fig 5-2 Time line of daily activities in square, photo taken and analyzed by author

Fig 5-3 Distance between the square and the users' residence, adapted from Google Map

Fig 5-4 The square dancer and Liu-wan in the morning around 8:00

Fig 5-5 The square dancer and Liu-wan in the morning around 20:00

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Fig 5-7, Liu-wan, Photo by author

Fig 5-8 ,Young people taking rest in square , Photo by author

Fig 5-9 Left: Martial dance to pay admiration to an emperor Source: 秦王破阵乐舞图, 中國戲劇史講義(2015/11修訂) Right: Vernacular dance of peasants Source: Ma Yuan, Dancing and Singing—Peasants returning from work, 1160-1125, ink on silk, 192.5*111cm, Beijing Palace Museum

Fig 5-10 Left: Traditional Yang-ge is about historical stories, photo by Leng Yu(冷雨) http://himg2.huanqiu.com/attachment2010/110214/zip1297663133/1297663133_1.jpg Right: New Yang-ge is a tool of political propaganda, photo by Wu Yinxian(吴印咸) http://news.xinhuanet.com/foto/2010-06/30/c_12283494.htm

Fig 5-11 Left: Loyalty dance during Cultural Revolution Source: cited by Sina Bloger @老绥远韩氏 http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_5d56b2690102e0mh.html Right: Square dance of today Source: 中舞网综合 <http://d.wudao.com/20120620/50189.html>

Fig 5-12 The remaining street culture in Nanjing Source: photo by老兵新摄 <http://my-news.longhoo.net/thread-295705-1-1.html>

Fig 5-13 some activities took place on street have transformed to square Source: Left, photo by photofans blogger @加贝风 <http://bbs.photofans.cn/thread-407559-1-1.html> Right, photo by author

Fig 5-14 Political movement in Xijiekou Square, Nanjing in 11/08/1964 Source: cited by Nanjing chorography http://dfz.nanjing.gov.cn/17670/17674/201207/t20120722_985316.html

Fig 15 From 'people in Danwei' to 'people in society'

Fig 5-16 The public toilet in Gulou Square and the roughly area gay stay

Chart 5-1 population during a day in 5 squares, data collected and analyzed by author

Chart 5-2: Constitution of Square User Between 8:00-8:30, data collected and analyzed by author

Chart 5-3: Constitution of Square User between 16:30-17:00, data collected and analyzed by author

Chapter 6 Conclusion

Fig6- 1 bird view of the site source: Luohu Wenjin Gaedern Plaza, landscape architecture, 04/2013

Fig 6-2 pavement decorated with urban fabric source: Luohu Wenjin Gaedern Plaza, landscape architecture, 04/2013

Fig 6-3 art work of Hitness source: Luohu Wenjin Gaedern Plaza, landscape architecture, 04/2013

Fig 6-4 users of Sungang Central Plaza

Fig 6-5 Bird view of the plaza Source: World Architecture, 08/2007

Fig 6-6 Left: urban structure of the site Right: drafts of the design Source: World Architecture, 08/2007

Fig 6-7 the design of urban furniture Source: World Architecture, 08/2007
Appendix 3

Fig Appendix 3—1 Source: baike.baidu.com

Fig Appendix 3—2 teahouse under colonnade source: Sina blogger@托斯卡纳TSKN

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